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A RELATION
Of the Troubles which have hapned in
New-England,

By reason of the Indians there:

From the Year 1614. to the Year 1675.

Wherein the frequent Conspiracÿes of the Indians to cutt off the English, and the wonderfull providence of God, in disappointing their devices, is declared.

Together with an Historical Discourse concerning the PREVALENCY of PRAYER; shewing that *New Englands* late deliverance from the Rage of the Heathen is an eminent Answer of Prayer.

By INCREASE MATHER
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Job. 8. 8. *Enquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their Fathers.*

Psal 111. 2. *The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein*

Joel. 1. 3. *Tell ye your Children of it, and let your Children tell their Children, and their Children another Generation.*

Historia est testis temporum nuncia vetustatis, lux veritatis, vita memorie, magistra vite. Cic. de Orat.

Alius alio plura invenire potest, nemo omnia.

B O S T O N,
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To the Reader

THe occasion of my undertaking what is here presented, was a letter which I received from a worthy person, who upon the perusal of that *brief historical Account* of the war with the Indians in *New England*, published the last summer, importuned me to write the story of the *Pequot War*; Taking his motion into consideration, it came into my thoughts, that it would be a service and benefit for posterity, if all other general troubles which have happened by the *Heathen* in this land, were recorded and made known; & the rather, in that as to those *first motions and commotions* there are very few that know any thing of them. Wherefore I set my self to make enquiry into those matters, and shall for the satisfaction of the *Reader*, give him an account where and from whence I obtained, what light and information touching these *Indian troubles*, I have been any wayes able to arrive unto.

Such Books as I had by me, that relate any thing of these affaires I have been willing to revolve. e.g. *Johannes de Laet* his *Description of America*, written in Latin; Also severall of *Cpt. Smith* his books; And a *relation of the discovery of New England*, published by the President and Council of *New England*. Anno 1622. And the *Relation or journal of the first planters in Plymouth* together with severall letters which some of them wrote to *England*, soon after their first coming into this countrey; and *Mr. Winslow* (then whom hardly any one that hath deserved more eminently from *New England*) his *good news from New England*, published

published Anno 1614. which relations are in the hands of but few in this country, & therefore I have been the larger in excerpting things out of them. They are epitomized in *Purchase* his *Pilgrims* lib. 10. who declares that he had by him a description of the voiage made by Capt. *Hanham* to *Sagadahoc*, and the written journals of Mr. *Raleigh Gilbert*, and of Mr. *Harly*, & Capt *Hobson*, who were in this land before any English plantation was settled therein. I doubt not but in those scripts a more full and particular account is given, of the first concerns with the *Indians* here. But I could not come by the sight of them, nor do I know certainly whether those things are extant. I have also perused Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges* narration of original undertakings here. Moreover I have read a large Manuscript of Governour *Bradfords* (written with his own hand,) being expressive of what the first planters in this country met with, whether from the *Heathen* or otherwise, from the year 1610. to the year 1647. As for the *Pequot troubles*, the world is beholding to the industry of Mr. *John Allyn* of *Hartford* (as is in the subsequent *Relation* acknowledged) for what is thus made publick, respecting the great Commotions which then happened. Only I have been willing to ad some particulars out of a manuscript narrative of the *Pequot war*, which I lately met with in Reverend Mr. *Davenport's* library, as also what Mr. *Johnson*, or Mr. *Morton* (out of Mr. *Bradfords* manuscript) hath heretofore noted. Touching the *Narragansets*; I have searched the publick Records of the Colonies, and from thence excerpted the substance of what as here related, as to former troubles from them, or by their means proeured. The *Relation* concerning *Alexander* and his brother *Philip*, wherewith this *Narrative* is concluded, I received from the present Honourable Governour of *Plymouth* (who succeeds his blessed Father, as in place, so in spirit) and from the faithful *Secretary* of that Colony. I am sensible that there is a reality in that which *Erasmus* doth (after his manner) wittily express *Aded nunc in omnes et omnia gressatur comitata furis* in *Διακολη ut non sit totum ullum emittere librum, nisi satellitio munitum*, wherefore

fore I thought it necessary to give this particular account of the Authors from whom I received my information, respecting passages insisted on: Nor shall I seek for any other *Guard* against those, whose *Genius* is to calumniate endeavours of this kind.

I am not altogether ignorant of what is commonly and truly observed, *viz.* That those *Histories* which are partly *Chronological* are the most profitable, and that they that undertake a work of this nature, should go by the prescript of that so much celebrated verse,

Quis, Quid, Ubi, Quibus auxiliis, Cur, Quomodo, Quando. which I have endeavoured to remember. Nor hath that maxim been wholly forgotten, *Stylus Historicus quo simplicior eo melior.* And I may expect that *Ingenuous Readers* will act according to that which a Learned man in his *Historica* layeth down as a *Theorem*, *Historici legantur cum moderatione et venia, h. e. cogitatur fieri non posse ut in omnibus circumstantiis sint Lyncei.* I have done what I could to come at the truth, and plainly to declare it, knowing that that is (as useth to be said) *the soul and sun of History*, whose property is, *Μένει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διειρ.*

As for what concerns the Story of the late war with the Indians, there are who have propounded, that some meet persons might be improved in the several *Colonies*, to collect what of moment hath happened in each *Colony* since this war broke forth. When *Cassiodorus* compiled an *History* out of the Collections of *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, it was of great use in after ages, bearing the name of *Historia Tripartita*; if such a course as hath been intimated should be attended, and the designe finished, a *Complete History* may (*ἡ σύνολος ἱστορία*) be composed out of those collections, which I know not but that it may deserve the name of *Historia Tripartita*, and be no less beneficial to posterity, than some others have been. In the mean time, the Reader must be satisfied with what is already extant.

This following *Relation* was written neer upon a year ago; since which a Reverend Author hath emitted a Narrative of the troubles

Troubles which have happened by the Indians in New England, whose piety and industry doth (in my judgment) deserve acknowledgment. Nevertheless it hath been thought needfull to publish this; Considering that most of the things here insisted on, are not so much as once taken notice of in that *Narrative*. And although the *Pequot war* be therein described (and that, as to the substance of the story, truly and impartially) it is not so fully done as is here to be seen. If this endeavour shall contribute any light or help in writing an *History of New England*, I hope they whose hearts are upon seeking out and declaring the works of God in the Generation which he cast them into, will accept of my labour, however mean and inconsiderable. I shall adde no more, but pray that the blessing of heaven may be upon undertakings of this nature.

Boston N. E.

Sept. 14. 1677

Increase Mather.

E R R A T A.

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A RELATION OF THE FIRST TROUBLES IN New-England

By reason of the *INDIANS* there

IT is now above seventy years, since that Part of this Continent which is known by the name of *NEW-ENGLAND*, was discovered, and possession thereof taken by the English. No man that hath made it his Concern to be acquainted with things of this nature can be ignorant, that the *Northern*, (or to us *Northeast*) parts of this Land were the first wherein were English Inhabitants; whence it was for some years known by the name of *the Northern Plantation*, until such time as King *Charles* the first (then Prince of Wales) gave it the name of *New England*.

For in *Anno* 1602. and in the year following, some of our Countrymen made notable discoveries in that Land which lyeth North and by east of *Virginia*, between the degrees of 43. & 45. Northern Latitude.

Four or five years after this that noble Lord, Sr. *John Popham* (then Lord chief Justice) sent out a ship into these parts to make further discovery, who arriving at the place designed, quickly returned, and made such a report of what they had seen, as did greatly animate the Adventurers to go on with their begun undertaking; whereupon in *Anno* 1607. A Gentleman

Aleman whose name was *Popham* was sent into these Coasts, with two Ships and an hundred Land-men, and Ordnance, and other things necessary for their sustentation and defence, in order to the making way for the settlement of a Plantation. But that noble Lord being taken out of the world by sudden death, also the Planters here meeting with sad disasters (for in the depth of winter, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and Capt. *Popham* dyed amongst them) when the next year a vessel arrived bringing the news of the Lord *Popham's* death, the whole company of the English resolved upon a return home, which proved the death of the English Plantation, at that time designed in these parts of the world. Only Sr. *Fr. Popham* (son to the Lord chief Justice) sent diverse times to those coasts for trade and Fishing.

As yet there was not (so far as I can learn) any disturbance from the *Indians*, then the only Natives of this Land. But not long after this, an unworthy Ship-Master whose name was *Hunt*, being sent forth into these Coasts on the account of the Fishing trade, after he had made his dispatch and was ready to sail, (under pretence of trucking with them) enticed *Indians* into his vessel, they in confidence of his honesty went aboard, to the number of twenty from *Patuxet*, since called *Plimouth*, and seven from *Nasset* (now known by the name of *Essex*) these did this *Hunt* seize upon, stowed them under hatches, and carried them to the streights of *Gibraltar*, and there did he sell as many as he could of them for 20^l. a man, untill it was known whence they came; for then the Friars in those parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the Popish Religion. The pernicious and avaritious Felony of this Ship-Master, in stealing and selling the *Indians* to the *Spaniards*, as hath been expressed, laid the foundation to great troubles which did after that befall the English, especially in the *North-east* parts of this Land. Yea that inhumane and barbarous Fact was the unhappy occasion of the loss of many a mans estate and life, which the Barbarians in those beginning times did from thence seek to destroy.

For when the Gentlemen Adventurers did again dispatch a vessel hither commanded by Capt. *Hobson* in order to erecting a Plantation and setting a Trade with the Natives here, *Hunt's* forementioned scandal, had caused the *Indians* to contract such a mortal hatred against all men of the English Nation, that it was no small difficulty to settle any where within their Territories. And whereas there were two *Indians* called *Epenom* and *Mamomet*, who having been carried out of these parts of the world into *England*, had learned to speak English, that were returned in *Hobson's* vessel, as hoping they might be serviceable toward the design on foot, it
fell

sell out otherwise, since being exasperated by what *Hunt* had done, they contrived with their Country-men how to be revenged upon the English. *Munapit* dyed within a short time after the ships arrival. *Epenow* secretly plotted to free himself out of the English hands, which he effected though with great hazard to himself and other *Sakungis* that were his fellow *Conspirators*, which came to pass after this manner.

Upon the Ships arrival, many of the Indians (some of them being *Epenow's* kinsmen) came aboard and were kindly entertained by the Captain; at their departure they promised to return the next day, and bring some Trade with them. *Epenow* had not liberty granted him to go on shoar, only much discourse (and probably a contrivement for his escape) was between him and the other Indians in the vessel, which no body but themselves could understand. The Indians returned at the time appointed with twenty *Canoes*, but were shy of coming aboard. *Epenow* cunningly called to them as if he would have them come into the vessel, to trade, and suddenly did himself leap overboard: He was no sooner in the water, but the Indians sent a shower of arrows into the vessel, and came desperately near to the ship, and (in despite of all the English Musketers aboard) went away with their Country-man *Epenow*.

Diverse of the Indians were then slain by the English, and the Master of the English vessel, and several of the Company wounded by the Indians.

Hereupon the Captain and the whole company were discouraged, and returned to England, bringing nothing back with them but the news of their bad success, and that there was a *War* broke out between the *English*, and the *Indians*. The time when these troubles hapned, is controverted more then the things themselves. *Johannes de Laet* in his *descriptione Indiae Occidentalis*, writeth that it was between the years 1608. & 1615. So doth *Purchasse*. *Sr. Ferdinando Gorges* relates that he sent *Capt. Hobson* into these parts in Anno 1614, and what *Hunt* did was before that, as being the Grand procuring Cause of the Broyle between the English and the Indians, which first began in that year.

After these things another vessel was sent into these *Northern* parts under the Command of *Capt. Encroft*, he designed to winter there; but some of his own ships Company conspired against him, intending his death, he having secret intelligence of this plot against his life, held his peace untill the day was come wherein the intended mischief was to be put in execution, then unexpectedly apprehended the *Conspirators*; he was loth himself to put any to death, though they were worthy of it. But therefore he resolved to leave them in the Wilderness, not knowing but they might haply discover something which might be advantageous.

Accordingly he furnished them with ammunition, and some victuals for their present subsistence, and turned them ashore to *Sacodehook*, himself with the rest of his Company departing to *Virginia*. Those English Mutineers got over to the Island of *Monhegan*, three leagues from the Main, where they kept themselves safe from the Fury of exasperated Indians, until the next Spring, when a vessel that came on the Coast on a Fishing voyage, found them all (except one person that died of sickness in this interim) alive, and carried them away back for England.

Not many years after this, *viz.* in Anno. 1619 a Gentleman whose name was *Darmer* was sent to prosecute the design of planting and settling a Trade in *New-England*, and to endeavour that a right understanding of matters between the Indians and the English might be accomplished.

He therefore brought with him an Indian called *Squantum*, who was one of those that *Hunt* had treacherously carried away from *Patuxet*, but was bought by an English Merchant, and lived some time with Mr. *Slaw* a Gentleman in *Cornhill*, until he could speak broken English, and after that at *New-found-land*, where Capt. *Mason* was then Governour, who was willing that Mr. *Darmer* should take *Squantum* with him to *New-England*. Upon his arrival here, he told his Countrey-men very strange stories, giving them to understand what kind usage he had met with among the English where he had been, and how much the wicked Fact of that covetous *Hunt* was condemned, so that many of them began to converse with, and become friendly toward the English, and Mr. *Darmer* conceited that he and *Squantum* had made a firm peace between the Nations.

But, *manet alia mente repositum* -- Indians are not wont to forget injuries, when once they have sustained any: so did that Gentleman find it to his after sorrow: For being near the place where *Hunt* had formerly betrayed the Indians aboard his vessel, they treacherously set upon him, and gave him fourteen wounds, so that he had much ado to escape with his life, And though he got to *Virginia* after this, some write that he never recovered of those wounds which he received of the *Nausit* Indians. And *Epenow* (before mentioned) was the cause of Capt. *Darmer's* being so assaulted, whom he hapned to meet with at his first landing in that place: The Indian being able to speak English, reported to Capt. *Darmer* the story of his escape out of Capt. *Hobson's* vessel, laughing heartily at the conceit of it. The Captain told him that Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges* was much troubled that he should meet with such ill usage as to put him upon a temptation to steal away. This Salvage after some enquiries about Sr. *Ferdinando* (and his Family) with whom he had sometimes lived in England, belike suspecting that Captain *Darmer* had a purpose to surprize him.

him, he conspired with some of his Fellows to take the Captain, and laid hands on him, who did with his sword manfully defend himself against those barbarous and treacherous Afsailants. What other particular mischiefs were done by the *Northern Indians* (or others) about this time, I cannot learn: Only Capt. *Smith* writeth that he met with many of their *filly Encounters* (as he calls them) but without any hurt. Also, a little before the first planters in *Plymouth Colony* arrived in this land, three Englishmen belonging to Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges*, were killed by these salvages, and two more narrowly escaped with their lives. And thus far wee have a *Cold* account of the design respecting the advancement of a plantation in the *Northern parts of New-England*.

In *Anno 1620*. A company of Christians belonging to the *Northern parts of England*, who proposed not so much worldly as spiritual ends in their undertaking, ayiming at the *Conversion* of the *Indians*, and the establishment of the worship of God in purity, did therefore transport themselves and families into this Howling wilderness. The first land they made was that of *Cape Cod*, Novemb. 9. where they came to an Anchor, and went on shore, Novemb. 11. Perceiving the Incommodiousness of that place for planting, they resolved to seek out for another that might be more accommodate. But their *Shallop* not being in trim to be sent out upon discovery, some were desirous to improve the time, in making what searches they could upon the land thereabout.

Novemb. 5. Sixteen men well armed were set on shore under the conduct of Capt. *Miles Standish*. After they had gone about a mile near the shoar, they descryed five or six Indians, who like wild creatures ran away from them at the first sight, they followed them by the trace of their footings, about ten miles, til night came on, but could not come to any speech with them.

At last they met with a kettle, wherein was Indian corn, which after much consultation they seized upon, resolving that if they could come to speak with Indians, they would return them their Kettel, and give them full satisfaction for their corn, which they intended for planting, not knowing how else to be supplied. So did they return the next day, but lost themselves awhile in the woods, and as they were wandering up & down, they hapned to espy a small tree that was bowed down, and some Acorns strewed underneath, whilst they were viewing of it, and wondering what it should mean, it gave a sudden jerk, whereby one of the Company was caught up by the leg, it being an Indian Deer-trap, the rest loosed him, and at last they found their way to the ship again.

After this, their *Shallop* being fitted for the purpose, they went a coast-

ing upon discovery, but off some dayes could meet with no Indians. Albeit they found old deserted Indian Forts, and more of their eorn and baskets, and a bottle of oyle which doubtless some how was brought our of *Europ*.

About the tenth of December, they discerned the track of Indian feet upon the sand, and followed it, till they perceived where it struck up into the woods, at last they light upon an Indian path, which led them a great way up into the woods, and saw where there had been corn planted, and found Indian graves &c. but no man appeared.

So they returned to their Shallop, and some watching, others betook themselves to their rest. But in the night they were alarmed by the Sentinels crying *Arm, Arm*, supposing Indians to be near them. They heard a most hideous howling, but one in the Company perswaded the rest, that it was the noyse of wolves and Foxes, which used (as he said) to make such a noyse in *New found Land* where he had been, two guns were shot off, at which the noyse ceased.

But betimes in the morning, on a sudden they heard the same voices again, and one of the company cryed *Indians, Indians*, and immediately arrowes came pouring in upon them. This barbarous salutation was amazing to the English, but that which did most of all terrifie was the horrid cry of those Salvages, whose note was after this manner, *woch woch ba ba hoch woch*. A stout Indian who was thought to be their Captain, standing behind a tree let fly his arrows apace, and stood three shots of a musket, untill one took full aim at him, and (as tis supposed) sorely wounded him, upon which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and went away, and all the other Indians fled with him. Providence so ordered, as that none of the English received any hurt, though afterwards they gathered up eighteen arrows, (and many more were shot at them) some whereof were headed with brass, others with Harts-horn, others with Eagles Claws, and sundry of the English had their coats shot through & through.

Decemb. 19. The English landed and resolved to endeavour the settling of a plantation, at that place which is now called *Plymouth*. No Indians there as yet appeared to give them any disturbance: Yea though some were sent out to seek after them, they could find none.

There were not many dayes after this, two Englishmen who being by the side of a pond, hapned to see a Deer, and having Dogs with them, they pursued the Deer untill such time as they lost themselves in the woods, where they were forced to lodge that night, and were terrified with the yelling (as it seemed to them) of two *Lions*, who roared exceedingly, and

a third that they thought was very neer them: they betook themselves to a tree, purposing if the Lions should come, to climb that for their security; but they saw none. The next day they perceived that Indians had made fires thereabouts, but it was wel they met not with any until they came home, being then unarmed and not fit for encounter with such Enemies.

Now it was that a special providence of another nature hapned: For the English having built an house in *Plimouth*, a spark of fire flying into the thatch, it was instantly burnt down. Mr. *Carver* and Mr. *Bradford* were then sick, yet if they had not risen with good speed, they had been blown up with powder. The house was full of beds as they could lye one by another, and their muskets charged, yet (through the good providence of God) no hurt done.

Febr. 16. An English-man that was gone forth upon a fowling design, espied twelve Indians marching toward the English plantation, and heard the noise of many more not far off; he lay close until they were gone by, and then with all speed returned home and gave the alarm, but no Indians followed, only they took away the tools of those English, that had been at work in the woods.

The next day two Indians presented themselves on the top of an hill; two English went out to parly with them, but they ran away, and the noise of a multitude of them was heard on the other side of the hill.

In the beginning of *March*, an Indian called *Samoset* came boldly along the houses, which were newly built in *Plimouth*, and to their great amazement, spake to them in English, saying, *Welcome Englishmen*; This Indian was a *Sagamore* belonging to the *Northern parts*, about *Montiggen*, where he had often conversed with English Fishermen, and had learned to speak broken English; Hee was the first Indian that they of *Plymouth* had opportunity to discourse with, Hee could tel them of the *Hugger* (as he called it) i.e. *Fight*, which the English had with the *Nauset* Indians; and that the name of that place was called *Pattuxet*, where a multitude of Indians had formerly lived, but they were all dead of the plague which had been there a few years before the English came. This *Samoset* within a few dayes after his departure returned again, and brought *Squantum* (whom that wicked *Huni* had stolen away and sold for a slave) along with him; which *Squantum* was born in that place. *Samoset* and *Squantum* made it their business to bring the English into acquaintance with the next neighbouring Indians: wherefore they undertook to bring *Mossasot* (father to that *Wampanoag* who began the *War* with the English *Ann. 24. 1675.*) to treat with the English at *Plymouth*.

Accor-

Accordingly, March 22. *Massasoit* with his brother *Quadequina* came accompanied with about sixty of his men; and an agreement of peace between the English and Indians was then concluded on. This peace was in more respects then one singularly advantageous to the English, whilst they were thus but few in number, and strangers in this land.

And as for the reasons inducing *Massasoit* to this accord with the English, there were several things that prevailed with him thereunto; For *Squantum* had told him what a great Prince King *James* was, and how well he would take it if his Subjects were kindly entertained, and how ill if otherwise, and how easy it was for him to send over ships and men enough to destroy *Massasoit* and all his people. At that time also there was enmity between *Massasoit*, and the *Narragansets*, so that he hoped the English might be a defence to him against them. Thus did the feud which was kindled amongst the Indians one against another, advantage the poor Church in Plymouth. *Sic Canes linguunt ulcera Lazari.*

Moreover the consideration of the Guns, and other warlike Weapons, which ours brought with them, was terrible to the Indians, yea they had more formidable apprehensions thereof, then there was real cause for: They imagined that the English could by their great Guns cause the trees to fall down and kill the Indians. Furthermore *Squantum* did wickedly possess them with one delusion about the English, which had dismal Impressions upon the minds of these ignorant Barbarians; For whereas the plague (a disease which was never known in this land either before or since) had newly been raging amongst them, whereby many of their towns were totally depopulated, and desolated: he made them believe that the English kept the plague in a place under ground, and that they could let it loose upon the Indians when they would. An Indian called *Hobbomock* being one of *Massasoit's* Counsellors, observing in one of the English houses a kind of a Cellar, where some barrels of powder were bestowed, enquired of *Squantum* what that was, To whom he replied, that there the English kept the plague that he told them of, which they could let loose upon Indians at pleasure. When this *Hobbomock* became acquainted with the English, he seriously asked them whether they had any such power, they answered him truly that they had not, but withall added that the God whom they served had power to send that or any other disease upon those that should doe any wrong to his people. The Consideration of that also, was some terror to the Indians.

In the Moneth of June 1621. The English sent Messengers with a Present to *Massasoit* at *Pocanoker*, By the way they were accosted with several of the Indians, who having them at an Advantage as they passed through

through a River, were ready to shoot at them. Only having Indian Guides and Interpreters in their Company, who gave them to understand that they were friends, no hurt was done. Being come to *Massasoit*, they presented him with a red Cotton Coat, whereon was some Lace, this he accepted with great thankfulness, and having put it on (saith my Author) He was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to behold this King so bravely attired. He then promised to continue in amity with the English, and to take care that his men should not be Injurious.

About this time it was that an English lad (*one John Billington*) lost himselfe in the woods, living five days upon Berries untill he fel into the hands of the Indians. Some were (upon *Massalois* Information) sent to *Narraganset* to seek after him, when they came thither the Indians flocked together, many not having seen Englishmen before: Amongst others there was an old woman, judged to be an hundred years old, who when she saw the English fel into an extreme passion of bitter weeping, the reason whereof being demanded, answer was made, that she had three sons once living in that place, but they were all stolen away by that *Hint* (before mentioned) and now she had no more left to relieve her in her old age: The English were much grieved to see the poor Creature in such a passion, but telling her that it was only one wicked man who did that Fact, and that they abhorred it, and withal giving her some trifles, she was satisfied. In fine the English lad was brought at bedecked with *Pease*, and the *Sachim* of that place (called *Aspinet*) made peace with the English.

Now it was, that an Indian called *Combatant* (who, though a petty *Sachim* under *Massasoit*, secretly conspired with the *Narragansets* against his Master) occasioned some disturbance, seeking to destroy those Indians that were friends to the English, especially *Hobbomock* & *Squantum*, saying if these were dead the English had lost their tongue, watching his advantage at a time when those Indians were at *Namasket* *Combatant* took *Squantum* prisoner, and held a knife at *Hobbomocks* breast, who brake from him, and gave the English at *Plymouth* to understand what had hapned; whereupon 14. men were sent armed to *Namasket*, in order to revenging *Squantum's* supposed death. They surprized the house where *Combatant* was thought to be, declaring the end of their coming, & that they would hurt no man but him charging all others not to stir at the peril til they had searched for their enemy; Consternation and trembling seized on the Indians: yet some of them violently brake away, whence they were wounded (and after

wardshated by the English. *Combant* was not there, but fled to another place, but within a while *Squantum* was brought forth alive and set at liberty. After this diverse other *Sachim* sent gratulations to the English, yea those of the Isles of *Capanack* renewed their friendship. *Combant* used the mediation of *Mallaton* to make his peace.

Things being brought to this peaceable state, to did they continue for a little space, the *Church* in *Plymouth* being protected by a miracle of providence; like a flock of sheep amidst a thousand wolves; much what as *Luther* saith the *Church* should be pictured. Their next neighbours amongst the Heathen did as hath been expressed, of enemies become their friends, not shewing any acts of Hostility.

Only in the latter end of the next year, *Canonius* the *Narraganset* *Sachim*, sent an Indian to them, who enquired for *Squantum*, at that time gone somewhither else, whereupon the Indian left a byndle of Arrows; wrapped in a rattle snakeskin, and departed. When *Squantum* was returned, He informed the Governour, that the rattle snakeskin signified *Enmity*, and that the designe of this brutish salutation was to intimate a challenge; wherefore the Governour filled the snakes skin with powder and shot, and sent it back again, withal giving *Canonius* to understand, that if he had shipping at hand, he would endeavour to bear him out of his Countrey. The Indians durst not let the powder & shot continue in their houses, but every one was afraid to meddle with it, at last it came back again to *Plymouth*. And there was an end of that matter. Only they at *Plymouth* were by this *Brut* awakened to Impale their Town, and fortify, lest there should be an Onset from the enemy.

In the mean while *Hobbomock* (who sided with the English) informed that there was reason to suspect that the *Massachusetts* Indians were Confederate with the *Narragansets* in their bloody designs; And *Squantum* in wicked subtilty, laboured to make the English believe that *Massasoit* was false to them. Capt. *Stanish* with ten men was sent to *Massachusetts*: they had no sooner turned the point of the Harbour but there came an Indian running to some of the English that were from home, having his face wounded, and the blood fresh on the same (*Zopirus*-like) calling to them to repair home, and oft looking behind him, as if he had been pursued by enemies, saying, that at *Namasket* there were many of the *Narraganset*, and *Combant*, and that *Massasoit* was Confederate with them, purposing to assault the town in the Captains absence, professing that he had received that wound in his face, because he had spoken on the English their behalf

behalf. Whenas all this was a piece of artificiall and mischievous dissimulation, whereby the English were put into a sad fright, and the great Guns were discharged to remand the Captain back again, who immediately returned. *Hobomock* was confident that that Indian dissembled, for he was assured of *Massaio's* fidelity, however, that he would not engage in a thing of that nature, without consulting him who was one of his *Panies*: i. e. *Champron*; and Counsellours, and it was against the Indian custom for a *Sachim* to involve himselfe in war without them. Wherefore, *Hobomock* privately, upon the Governours advice sent his *Squaw* to *Massaio* at *Pocanoket*; who seemed to be much troubled that the English, and he himself should be so abused. And upon enquiry, it was found to be *Squantum's* knavery, who sought his own ends and plaid his own Game; for he would in a clandestine way, make the Indians beleive, that the English were resolved to cut them off, only he could prevent it, and so would obtray gifts from his countrey men to prevent their destruction by the English, inso much that the blind salvage began to have him in greater veneration then their *Sachim*, taking him for their *Protector*. And he would deal with no lesse falseness towards the English then towards those of his own nation.

When *Massaio* understood these things, he repaired to the English plantation, endeavouring to clear his innocency, desiring the Governour that *Squantum*, who had thus abused both English and Indians, might be put to death for his Treason: The Governour pacified him as much as he could for the present, and though he deserved to dy both in respect of English & Indians, yet desired he might be spared, because else they should want an Interpreter.

But not long after this, *Massaio* sent diverse Indians, who brought to the Governour, their *Sachim's* own knife (according to the Indian mode) that his enemyes head and hands might be cut off therewith.

At that instant when he Governour was about to deliver *Squantum* into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea, & there being even in those dayes Jealousies, that the French would join with the Indians to misthief the English, & some supposing that it might be a French vessel, he told the Indians, he would see what that was, before he delivered *Squantum* up to them. So did they go away dissatisfied.

But this wrought well for the English; For it made *Squantum* be honest whether he would or no; inasmuch as his own countrey men sought his life, he saw how it was his Interest to adhere to the English.

As for the boat mentioned, it proved to be one that belonged to a ship that was fishing about *Monhiggen*.

These things hapned in *May*, 1622. in which year it was that Mr. *Wesson* (a merchant of good note in *London*) attempted the advancing a plantation in this *Massachusetts Bay*. He sent over two ships, and about sixty men to make a beginning. The most of them were for the present refreshed at *Plymouth*, whilst some few Coasters went out to seek a convenient place to sit down in. They pitched upon a place within *Massachusetts Bay*, then called by the Indians *Wissigiquisset*, at this day known by the name of *Weymouth*.

Mr. *Wesson* (who was afterwards Governour of *Plymouth Colony*) reports that the *Wessonians* instead of proving an help to the other English Colony, had like within a few moneths to have brought ruine not only upon themselves, but upon their friends also: For complaints were quickly brought to *Plymouth*, that the English at *Wissigiquisset*, did abuse the Indians by stealing their corn from them, yea and one of them was so brutish as to turn Indian.

Others of them were of such servile and slavish dispositions, as that they became servants to the Indians, who would hire them to work with them in making Canoes, which Canoes were intended for the surprizal of the English ship, in the day when they would execute their designed Massacre.

Some of the Theeves were stockt and whipt, yea one of them was at last put to death, to satisfie the Indians, but it was then too late.

By the end of *February*, they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed, nor would the Indians be induced to lend or sell them any, upon any terms, hoping they would be starved to death.

Wherefore, they purposed to take away the Indians store from them by violence, and therefore made preparations accordingly. Only some of the Company (at leastwise one of them who is yet alive) being more honestly minded then others were, advised *John Saunders* their Overseer, to write to *Plymouth* before they did actually attempt any thing, which being done, they received letters from the Governour there, signifying great disapprobation of their intended proceedings, whereupon they desisted.

These motions must needs cause ill blood between the Nations: so that the Indians grew very insolent in their carriage, and there were secret conspiracies to cut off the English. And inasmuch as they thought that if they should destroy the *Wessonians*, and leave the *Plymouthians* (who had not wronged them) alive, these would take an opportunity to be revenged for those; wherefore they concluded to kill all before them, as was afterwards revealed by *Massasoit*, and by another Sachim called

called *Wassapinawet*, brother to *Obiakish*, the then Sachim of the *Massachusetts*.

The English of Plymouth as yet being Ignorant of the bloody mischief, which the Treacherous hearts of the Indians had concluded against them, attended thei occasions as formerly.

Upon a time Capt. *Standish* going with some men in a Shallop, to buy Corn of the Indians at *Nasset*, one of them stole certain trifles out of the Shallop; whereupon the Captain repaired to the *Sachim*, and told him, that if he did not immediately restore those things, he would revenge it before his departure, and so took leave for that night.

The next morning, the *Sachim* came accompanied with his train of salvages, saluting the Captain in such a manner as was hugely ridiculous to the English; For he put out his tongue, that one might see the root of it, and so licked the Captains hands, al his men doing the like, and endeavouring (according to the rude information they had received from *Squamum*) to make him a leg, he did perform his Ceremony after such an odd manner, as the English were hard put to it to refrain from open laughter.

Spiratum admissi visum teneatis Amici ?

After these Complements were over, he restored the things that were left; withal declaring, that he had much beaten the Indian that did *Commotion* (i.e. steal) the trifles mentioned.

But not long after this, the Captain was in no smal hazard of his life in another place; For going to *Manomet* (now called *Sandwich*) and being there entertained in the house of *Kunacum*, the *Sachim* there the Indians designed to cut off him and his men.

There was with him at this time, a *Cap-Indian* called *Pocomit*, who pretended friendship to the English, but was secretly joined in the bloody Confederacy. That he might not be suspected, he professed special affection towards the Captain, and would, as a gift, bestow some Corn upon him, and help him to carry the Corn to his boat, and would lodge in the *Wigwam* with Capt. *Standish*, to manifest what love and honour he did bear towards him, having in the mean time promised the Indians to kil him that night, and when he was killed the rest were to dispatch his men.

Also whilst he was entertained in the Sachims house, there came in two *Massachusetts* Indians, being desperate bloody villains. The name of the Chief of them was *Wittawamet*, who took a dagger from about his neck, and presented it to the *Sachim*, and made a speech to him (which the Captain could not understand) boasting of his own valour,

and how he had been the death of Christians both French and English and what pittifull weak Creatures they were, that when they were killing, they died crying, and made sower faces, more like children then men, and that whereas they were determined to kill the English (who had injured them) of Mr. *Westons* plantation, the best way for their own security was, to kill them of *Plymouth* too, now their Captain being in their hands, having but six men with him, two or three in the *Wigwam*, and no more in the shallop, it was a good opportunity to begin.

The murderous Counsel of this Audacious Bloud-sucker, was highly applauded; and the Indians waited when Capt. *Standish* would fall asleep, that they might attempt the bloody Tragedy. But God so ordered that he could not sleep that night. Also, an Indian secretly stole some Beads from him; which when the Captain perceived, he immediately called his six men together, and they beset the Sachims house, professing to him that as they would not doe wrong to him, so neither would they receive any, and therefore as they valued their lives, they should forthwith restore the stolen goods. Hereupon the *Sachim* bestirred himself to find out the Thiet, and having done so, he cometh to the Captain desiring him to look into his boat, if the beads that he missed were not there, who looking found them lying openly on the Cuddy, the Indians having slyly conveyed them thither. However this did so daunt the courage of the treacherous and cowardly Indians, that they attempted not their designed mischief.

All this while, they of *Plymouth* Colony had no certain knowledge of the evil that was intended against them, by the Heathen albeit the Conspiracy was very strong, for the Indians at *Nasset*, *Paomet*, *Saconet*, *Massimet*, *Matiachielt*, *Aravan*, were all in this Confederacy to cut off the English. But God who hath a special eye of providence over his people did at that time so order, that *Massasoit* fell sick, whereupon the Governour that then was, desired Mr. *Winstanley* and another Gentleman to give the sick Sachem a visit, and administer some Physick to him. As they were upon their journey toward *Pocanokee*, the place of *Massasoits* residence, the Indians by the way told that he was dead and buried. Which caused *Hobbsmock* (their guide through the woods), to break forth into bitter Lamentations crying out *Nien womasu Sagim*. O my loving Sachim, O my loving Sachim, thou wast no Liar, not cruel like other Indians, thy passion was soon over, thou wouldst hearken to reason from the meanest Subject, thou didst love Englishmen; among Indians I shall never know the like to thee.

So that it would have made the hardest heart to have relented to hear him. Ye they proceeded in their journey, being come so far as *Metapoyset*, they understood that *Massasoit* was not quite dead, but little hopes of his life.

When they came to *Pohamobet*, they found the Indians *Powamung* about *Massasoit*, making such an hellish noise as was enough to make a wel man sick, and therefore was very unlikely to make him that was sick wel.

Hobbsmock told him that the Governour of Plymouth had sent some friends to visit him in his sickness, and that they had brought some *Maskei* i.e. *Physic*, for him. Upon the receipt of which, he suddenly and strangely revived, and before their departure gave them great thanks for their love, saying, that now he saw that the English at plymouth were his real friends.

As they were ready to return home, he privately told *Hobbsmock* of the plot among the *Massachusetts*, and other Indians, to destroy the English, and how they had solicited him to join with them, but he said, that neither he, nor any of his men were in that Combination. He advised, that the Governour of plymouth would without delay, send and take off the *Principal Actors* in this wicked designe, and then the rest would be afraid. And whereas the Governour had sometimes said they would not begin with the Indians, until the Indians began with them, he earnestly counselled him not to stay for that, lest it should be too late.

The first day whilst on their journey back again, they were accompanied with *Combarant* the Sachim of *Metapoyset* (before mentioned) who was a politick and jocosse Indian, and stil suspected to be false to the English; He asked Mr. *Winslow*, how they, being but two, dared to trust themselves amongst so many Indians. Answer was made that love was without fear, and they wished wel to the Indians, and therefore did not fear evil from them. But then, said the Indian, what is the reason, that when we come to *Panuxet*, you hold the mouthe of your guns against us; he was told, that as the English manner of entertaining their friends. At which the Sachim haved his head, withal declaring, that he did not like such salutations. The next day, *Hobbsmock* acquainted the Eng^lish, with what *Massasoit* had revealed to him.

So then being returned to plymouth, It was on March 23. resolved; to hearken to *Massasoit*'s advice; many other things at that juncture appearing, which confirmed the truth of what was by him discovered.

And

And considering, that there was no dealing with Indians (as other nations do one with another) above board, it was thought most expedient by policy, to catch them at unawares, as they are wont to do by others. Wherefore Capt. Standish made choice of eight men, to go with him to *Wesagusset*, pretending to trade with them, and then to take his opportunity to seize upon the *Ringleaders* amongst the Conspirators.

Being arrived at the *Massachusetts Bay*, Two principal Conspirators behaved themselves very insolently. One of them called *Picknot*, who was a *Panier* or Counsellour, Jeered at Capt. Standish, because he was a man of little stature, and yet a Captain. Another called *Wistawamat* (before mentioned) cast out bloody expressions, shewing a sharp knife, which had a womans face pictured on the handle, saying, that he had killed French men, and English too, with that knife, and that he had another knife, which had a mans face pictured on it, and his two knives should marry shortly, and that by and by it should eat, though not speak. Likewise another Indian, and *Wistawamat*'s brother, who in bloodiness was like unto him, being present, Capt. Standish snatched *Picknot*'s knife from about his neck, and killed him with his own knife. At the same time his men fell upon *Wistawamat*, and the other Indian, and slew them, and took *Wistawamat*'s brother, and hanged him.

After this they set upon another company of Indians, and killed two or three of them, seeing still after more. At length they espied a file of Indians making towards them, but as the English came to the encounter, they (i.e. the Indians) ran behind the trees, and shot at Capt. Standish, until one as he was shooting, had his arm broke by a bullet, from one of Capt. Standish's souldiers, whereupon he, and the rest fled into a *Swamp*. The Captain dared the *Sachim* to come out, and fight like a man, but in vain.

At the time of these skirmishes, there was an Indian youth, who notwithstanding the slaughter made amongst his countrey men, came running to the English, desiring that he might be with them. He confessed that the Indians had resolved to cut off Mr. *Wesons* men, and that they only stayed for the finishing of two Canoes more (which if Capt. Standish had not so unexpectedly come upon them had been finished) that were intended for the surprizal of the English ship in the harbour.

Also an Indian Spy, who was taken prisoner and detained at *Plimouth*, when he saw Cap. Standish return with *Wistawamat*'s Head, looked on it with a guilty, galled countenance, and then confessed the Plot that was in hand to destroy the English, and that *Picknot* and

Wittawamat, together with three *Powaws*, were the principal Conspirators. He was released, and sent to *Ohtakieff*, the Sachim of the *Masachusets*, to signify what he must look for, in case he should continue in hostility against the English. The Sachim being amazed, and terrified with the English successes, humbly begged for peace, pretending that he could not keep his men in order, and that it was against his will that evil had been done to, or designed against the English.

Furthermore, the effect of these things was, that the rest of the Indians were stricken with such terror, and dread of the English, that they left their houses, and betook themselves to live in unhealthfull *Swamps*, whereby they became subject to miserable diseases, that proved mortal to multitudes of them. Particularly, *Kunnacum* Sachim of *Manomet*, *Aspinet* Sachim of *Nasset*, *Tanowgh* Sachim of *Mattachieff*, these all fell sick & died. This last Sachim said, that *the God of the English was offended at the Indians, and would destroy them in his anger*. And these signal appearances of God for his *Church* in *Plymouth*, must needs be a great conviction to the Heathen. Howbeit these motions ended in the subversion and ruine of Mr. *Wesons* plantation; God who determines the bounds of mens habitations, having appointed, that another people out of *England* should come afterward, and possess that place, as at this day.

And thus far is Mr. *Winslow*'s Relation of these first *Troubles* by Indians in these parts, which I take to be undoubted verity: For he was one that had particular knowledge of those things, and a man of truth, and conscience, that would not for the world willingly falsify in any particular.

There is an old *Planter* yet living in this countrey, being one of those that were employed by Mr. *Weson*, who also hath given some account of these matters.

He doth relate, and affirm, that at his first coming into this countrey, the English were in a very distressed condition, by reason of famine, and sickness which was amongst them, whereof many were already dead; and that they buried them in the night, that the Indians might not perceive how low they were brought.

This *Relator* doth moreover declare, that an Indian *Panier*, who secretly purposed bloody destruction against the English, and made it his design to learn the English tongue, to the end he might more readily accomplish his hellish devices, told him, that there had been a French vessel cast away upon these coasts, only they saved their lives and their goods, and that the Indians took their goods from them, and made the *Frenchmen* their servants, and that they wept very much, when

Indians parted them from one another, that they made them eat such meat as they gave their dogs. Only one of them having a good Master, he provided a Wife for him, by whom he had a Son, and lived longer then the rest of the French men did; and that one of them was wont to read much in a Book (some say it was the New-Testament) and that the Indians enquiring of him what his Book said, he told them it did intimate, that there was a people like French men that would come into the Country, and drive out the Indians, and that they were now afraid that the English were the people of whose coming the French man had foretold them. And that another ship from *France* came into the *Massachusetts Bay* with Goods to Truck, and that Indian *Panies* propounded to the Sachim, that if he would hearken to him, they would obtain all the French mens Goods for nothing; namely, by coming a multitude of them aboard the vessel, with great store of Beaver, making as if they would Truck, & that they should come without Bows and arrows, only should have knives hid in the flappets which the Indians wear about their loins, and when he should give the *watch-word*, they should run their knives into the French mens bellies, which was accordingly executed by the Indians, and all the French men killed, only Mounfier *Finch* the Master of the vessel being wounded, ran down into the Hold, whereupon they promised him that if he would come up, they would not kill him, notwithstanding which, they brake their word, and murdered him also, and at last set the ship on Fire.

Some enquiring of him how long it was since the Indians first saw a ship, he replied that he could not tel, but some old Indians reported, that the first ship seemed to them to be a Floating Island, wrapped together with the roots of trees, and broken off from the Land, which with their *Canoos* they went to see, but when they found men there and heard gunns, they hasted to the shore again not a little amazed. (Some write that they shot arrows at the first ship they saw thinking to kill it)

This *Relator* doth also affirm, that after jealousies began between the English of Mr. *Wisons* plantation and the Indians, they built diverse of their wigwams at the end of a great Swamp, near to the English, that they might the more suddenly and effectually doe what was secretly contrived in their hearts: and an Indian Squaw said to them that ere long *Aberkieft* would bring many Indians that would kill all the English there and at *Pauxer*. After which the *Sachim* with a company of his men came armed towards them, and bringing them within the Pale of the English Plantation, he made a speech to the English with great

great gravity saying, " When you first came into this land, I was your friend, we gave gifts to one another. I let you have land as much as we agreed for, and now I would know of you if I or my men have done you any wrong. Unto whom the English replied, that they desired, that he would first declare whether they had injured him.

The Sachim roundly rejoyned, that either some or all of them had been abusive to him; for they had stolen away his corn, and though he had given them notice of it times without number, yet there was no satisfaction nor reformation attained.

Hereupon, the English took the principal *Thief* and bound him and delivered him to the *Sachim*, with all declaring, that he might do with him what he pleased. Nay (said he) Sachims do justice themselves upon their own men, and let their neighbours do justice upon theirs, otherwise we conclude that they are all agreed, and then fight.

Now the Indians some of them began to tremble, and beholding the Guns which were mounted on the English Fort, they said one to another (in their Language) that little guns would shoot through houses, and great guns would break down trees, and make them fall and kill Indians round about. So did they depart at that time dissatisfied and enraged.

The English now perceiving that the Indians were fully purposed to be revenged on them, they resolved to fight it out to the last man.

As they were marching out of the Fort, seven or eight men stood still, saying, this is the second time that the Salvages had demanded the life of him that had wronged them, and therefore they would have him first put to death, and if that would not satisfy, then to fight it out to the last, wherefore he was put to death in the sight of the Heathen; after which the English marched out towards them, but they dispersed themselves into the woods.

This *Relator* endeavoured to give notice to them in *Plymouth*, how that the Indians had contrived their ruin, but he missed his way between *Weymouth* and *Plymouth*; and it was well he did so; for by that means, he escaped the savage hands of those Indians, who immediately pursued him, with a murderous intention. Ere he could reach *Plymouth*, they were informed by *Massasot* (as hath been declared) concerning what was plotted amongst the Indians.

Finally there were (as this *Relator* testifieth) three several skirmishes with the Indians. One at *Wesegusquaser*, before mentioned; another at a place where the town of *Dorchester* is since planted; and lastly at the Bay of *Agawam* or *Ipwich*; in all which engagements, the Indians

were notably beaten, and the English received no considerable damage, so that the Sachims entreated for peace, nor were the English, (provided it might be upon terms safe and honourable) averse thereunto, *Pacem tu poscimus omnes.*

These dark clouds being thus comfortably dispelled, and blown over, the first Planters in this Country received no considerable disturbance from the Indians a long time. It is true, that soon upon these motions, (viz. in August, Anno 1623.) a Gentleman arrived here out of *Englana* (namely Capt. *Robert Gorges*) being attended with many servants, as purposing the settlement of an English plantation in this Bay of *Massachusetts*; and although that plantation was quickly deserted and dissolved, other things, and not any annoyance from the Natives here caused those designs to prove abortive.

Thelike is to be affirmed concerning Mr. *Wollaston* plantation. For whereas he with several others, being persons of quality, did (in the year 1625) with a multitude of servants come into this *Massachusetts Bay*, as intending to settle a plantation therein, they met with such cross providences as did discourage them, and at last dissipate them, yet nothing from the Indians.

I have been informed, that this Gentleman considering the unhappy *Catastrophe's* attending Mr. *Wesson* and Mr. *Gorges*, their plantings at *Wesagusquasset*, conceived that the Indian *Powaws* had brought that place under some fascination, and that Englishmen would never thrive upon *Enchanted ground*, and therefore they would pitch down their stakes in a place nearer to *Boston*; even where the town of *Brantree* hath since flourished; but the difficultyes of a WilderNESS were too hard for them, that Mr. *Wollaston* removed a great part of his servants to *Virginia*, nor having (so far as I can understand) received any molestation from the Indians here.

In Anno 1628. Mr. *Endecot* (who deserves to be honourably mentioned, as having been a *Patriot* in *New-England*) arrived here with a *Patent* for the Government of the *Massachusetts*. He and others with him sat down at a place called *Nahumkeik* (as in a Parenthesis let me here observe, that that Indian word is also Hebrew, נַחֻם *Nahum* signifieth *Consolation*, & קַיִק *keik* is hebrew for a *Boosome*, or haven, and it so falls out, that the English have hapned to call that place by another name which is also Hebrew, viz. *Salem*) There did they enjoy *Peace*. Howbeit there are Antient Planters, who testifie that the Indians being possessed with some fears lest the English should in time take their Country

trey from them, were conspiring to destroy them. And the small handfull of Christians then in *Salem*, were alarmed with the report of no less then a thousand Barbarous Natives, coming to cut them off, and that upon a Lords day, whereupon they discharged several great guns, the small shot wherein made such a terrible ratling amongst the trees as far off, that the amazed Indians returned not a little affrighted. And it was a wonderfull providence of God, now to restrain the Heathen, since it so hapned that about this time there were some Tumults about the English themselves. For whereas Mr. *Wollaston* and his Partners left some of their servants here, and gave order that a man whose name was *Filcher*, should command and oversee them. There was another whose name was *Thomas Morton*, he would needs take upon him to be Lord of Mis-rule, and having gained much by trading with the Indians, this *Morton* and his drunken Companions quickly wasted all in riotous living.

This was the man that taught the Indians in these parts the use of Guns, how they should charge and discharge them, and employed them in Hunting for him: And when they were instructed in the use of these instruments of death, they would purchase them at any rates, whereby the safety of the English was not a little hazzarded.

In conclusion, the English at *Plymouth* and *Salem*, agreed to seyze upon this *Morton*, which was done *Vi & armis*, and he was sent over to *England*, there to receive such punishment as by the honourable Council for *New-England* should be thought meet.

All these tumults notwithstanding, the over-ruling providence of God kept the Indians quiet.

It is to be wondred at, that the Church in *Plymouth* should be preserved when other English Plantations could not subsist in this Countrey, but either the Indians, or the Lords own hand brought them to a sudden end from time to time. But God who saw that they designed something better then the world, in their planting here, brought it to pass by such wayes as these,

1. *Massasoit* (as was hinted before) was perswaded by *Squantums* information, that if the English should be his friends, he need not fear any enemies in the World; so did he become a wall to the English at *Plymouth* against other Indians. The Earth helped the woman that was fled into the Wilderネス, whom the Dragon would have swallowed up.

2. The Lord made them very successfull in their expeditions against those enemies that first sought their destruction.

3. They prevailed with God by Fasting and Prayer to look upon them and bless them with special mercy when it was a time of need, which did greatly affect and astonish the Indians : some of them therefore conceiving high thoughts concerning the English mans God, and his love to his people, that truly fear and serve him. That which Mr *Winslow* (and since him another) doth publicly testify concerning this matter, deserveth Commemoration, namely, that whereas after the *First Indian Troubles* were over, there was a sore drought on the land continuing for the space of six Weeks, insomuch that it was judged by some that the corn was withered and dead, past recovery, the *Church in Plymouth* set themselves by Fasting and Prayer, to seek mercy from the Lord in this thing. And although in the morning when they assembled themselves, the heavens were clear, and the drought as likely to continue as ever, yet before their solemn Exercise was ended, the heavens grew black with clouds, and the next morning these clouds distilled rain, and for the space of fourteen dayes together there were moderate showers, so that the drooping corn was revived to admiration.

A friendly Indian, before mentioned, known by the name of *Hobbsmock*, living in the town of Plymouth, enquired why the English met together in that manner, it being but three dayes after the Sabbath; and being informed of the true cause thereof, and observing the gracious effects that followed, he was greatly affected, and told other Indians of it, who were also smitten with deep conviction, and the more in that, albeit in times of Drought the Indians are wont to *Powah* and cry to their gods, sometimes for many dayes together, yet if rain follow, it is wont to be accompanied with terrible Thundring and Lightning and tempests, which often do more hurt then the rain doth good : whenas it was otherwise with respect to the showers which at this time came from Heaven, in answer to the Prayers of the Church in Plymouth, So that the Heathen confessed that the English mans God was better then theirs. And some amongst the Indians became faithfull to the English, though as yet but a very few,

Apparent ravi Nantes in Gurgite vasto.

There having been (as was said) a *Patent* for the *Massachusetts* Government by royal Grant obtained, many out of England flocked into this Country almost every year. And for the most part, not so much on the account of Trade, or to prosecute any worldly interest, as on the account of Religion. These did God own, having wonderfully made way for their planting here by casting out the Heathen before them, with

with mortal Diseases, especially by the *Plague* amongst the *Indians* in *Plymouth* Colony, and the *Small Pox* among the *Massachusetts*.

In Anno, 1631. New jealousies arose concerning the treacherous *Indians*. Capt. *Walker* one evening had two arrows shot through his Coat, which caused an Alarm at *Lyn*, then known by the name of *Saugust*: but no lives were lost, nor is there any certainty to this day who shot those arrows, whereby the Captains life was so eminently endangered.

About the same time the *Indians* began to be quarrelsome touching the bounds of the Land which they had sold to the English; but God ended the controversy by sending the small pox amongst the *Indians* at *Saugust*, who were before that time exceeding numerous; whole towns of them were swept away, in some of them not so much as one Soul escaping the destruction. There are some old Planters surviving to this day, who helped to bury the dead *Indians*, even whole families of them all dead at once. In one of the *Wigwams* they found a poor infant sucking at the breast of the dead mother, all the other *Indians* being dead also.

Not long after this, when the town of *Ipswich* was first planted, it was vehemently suspected that the *Tarratines* (or eastern *Indians*) had a design to cut off the English there. For a friendly Indian called *Robin* came to an Englishman whose name is *Perkins*, acquainting him that such a Thursday there would come four *Indians* to draw him to the water side under pretence of trucking with him, and that they had prepared forty *Canoes* which should ly out offight under the brow of an hill, full of armed *Indians* to cut off the English. The four *Indians* came at the time, and to the person mentioned. He instead of going to the water side to truck with them, spoke roughly to them, and caused an Alarm, so they immediately returned, perceiving their Plot was discovered, and presently fourty such *Canoes* as the friendly Indian had given warning of, were discovered.

Besides the Particulars which have been insisted on, I cannot understand that there was any general disquietment raised by the *Indians*, until the year 1636. It is true that some particular mischiefs and private Murthers were committed before that, after the forementioned troubles were allayed. For Mr. *Wilton*, who himself, (under another name and the disguise of a Black-Smith) arrived here not long after his plantation was ruined, suffering ship-wrack near *Pascataqua* hardly escaped with his life, in respect of the *Indians*, who took his Goods from him, and stripped him of his very cloathes to the shirt on his back.

About

About eleven years after that, Capt. *Stone*, and Capt. *Norton*, with all their ships company, were barbarously murdered by the *Pequot* Indians (as is in the sequel more fully related.)

And two yeares after that, Mr. *John Oldham* was massacred by the Indians of *Munnisset*, now called *Block-Island*; which things made way for the *Piquot War*, whereby the whole English Interest (yea the Interest of Christ, who had ere that taken possession of this land, and gloriously began to erect his own kingdome here) was threatned and endangered.

Great pity it is, that although it be now forty years since those motions, and albeit the works which God then wrought for his people were admirable, yet that no *Compleat Memorial* thereof, hath been published to this day. It is then high time, that something more should be done therein, that so both we and our Children after us, may see what great things, the Lord God of our fathers hath done for them, and for us.

And there is a Gentleman in this country (namely Mr. *John Allyn*, who is *Secretary* to the Council at *Hartford*, and one of the worthy Magistrates of that Colony) who hath been Industrious in gathering up the truth of things, about those troubles, being under peculiar advantages thereunto, by informations from him, who was principally instrumental in fighting the Lords battels at that time against the Heathen.

This *Narrative* of Mr. *Allyn* I shall here insert and publish, as I received it, without making the least alteration as to the sense, and very little as to the words. It is that which followeth.

Some Grounds of the War against the Pequots.

In or about the year 1633. One Capt. *Stone* arrived in the *Massachusetts*, in a ship from *Virginia*, who sometime after was bound for *Virginia* again, in a small Bark, with one Capt. *Norton*, who sailing up Connecticut River, about two leagues from the entrance, cast Anchor; there coming to them several Indians belonging to that place, whom the *Pequots* tyrannized over, being a potent and a warlike people they being accustomed so to deal with their neighbouring Indians. Capt. *Stone* having some occasion with the Dutch, who lived at a Trading house, near twenty leagues up the River, procured some of those Indians to go as Pilots with two of his men to the Dutch; but they being

ing benighted, before they could come to their desired port, put the Skiffe, in which they went, ashore, where the two Englishmen falling asleep, were both murdered by their Indian guides, there remaining with the Bark, about twelve of the aforesaid Indians, who had in all probability, formerly plotted their bloody designe, and waiting an opportunity when some of the English were on shore, and Capt. Stone asleep in his Cabbin, set upon them and cruelly murdered every one of them, and plundered what they pleased, and afterward sunk the Bark.

These Indians were not native *Pequots*, but had frequent recourse to them, to whom they tendered some of those goods, which were accepted by the chief Sachem of the *Pequots*: and some of the Goods were tendered to the Sachim of *Niantick* who also received them.

The Honoured Council of the *Massachusetts* hearing of these proceedings of the *Pequots*, sent to speak with them, & had some Treatyes, but no issue was made to satisfaction.

After which, Capt. *John Endicot* was sent forth Commander in chief, with Capt. *Underhill*, Capt. *Turner* and about an hundred and twenty men, who were firstly designed against a people living on *Block-Island*, who were subjects to the *Narraganset* Sachem, they having taken a Barke of Mr. *John Oldam*, murdering him and his Company. They were also to call the *Pequots* to an account about the murdering of Capt. *Stone*: who arriving at *Pequod*, had some Conference with them, but little was effected, only one *Indian* slain, and some *Wigwams* burnt.

After which the *Pequots* grew enraged against the English who inhabited *Connecticut*, being but a small number, about two hundred & fifty who were there newly arrived, as also about twenty men at *Sey-Brook* under the command of Lieut. *Lion. Gardner*, who was there placed by several Lords and Gentlemen in *England*.

The *Pequots* observing Lieut. *Gardner* going to fire the Meadows about half a mile off the Fort, with ten men with him, was violently assaulted by the *Pequod* Indians, so that some were slain, the rest were rescued by the Souldiers issuing out of the Fort upon the said *Pequots* who fled. They also seized some that were passing up *Connecticut* River, and tortured them in most cruel manner, with most barbarous and inhumane cruelties; roasting of them alive &c.

They also lay skulking about the Fort almost constantly, that the English could not go out of the Fort, but they were assaulted by the *Pequots*, so that *Connecticut* out of their small numbers, constrained them

themselves to send Capt. *John Mason* with twenty men to secure the place. But after his coming, there did not one *Pequod* appear in view for a moneths space about the Fort, which was the time he there remained.

In the interim, many of the *Pequods* went to a place now called *Wethersfield* on *Connecticut*, and having confederated with the Indians of that place (as it was generally thought) they lay in ambush for the English people of that place, and diverse of them going to their labour in a large field adjoyning to the town, were set upon by the Indians, nine of the English were slain upon the place, and some horses, and two young women were taken Captive.

The *Pequods* at their return from *Wethersfield*, came down to the River of *Connecticut*, (Capt. *Mason* then being at *Saybrook* Fort) in three or more Canoes, with about an hundred men, the English espying of them, concluded they had been acting some mischief against us, and therefore prepared one of their great Gunns, and made a shot at them, which shot strook off the head of one of their Canoes wherein the two Captives were, although the shot was made at them at a great distance, near three miles: but seeing it was so placed, they hastned to the shore, and drew their Canoes with what speed they could over a narrow Beach and so got away.

The English of *Connecticut* being so alarmed by these insolencies of the *Pequods*, saw meet to call a Court, which met in *Hartford* upon *Connecticut* the first day of May 1637. who seriously considering their condition, which did look very sad, since the *Pequods* were a great people, fortified, cruel, warlike, munitioned &c. and the English but an handfull in comparison of them. But their outrageous violence against the English (having murdered about thirty of them) their great pride and insolency, and their constant pursuit in their malicious courses, with their endeavours to ingage other Indians in their Quarrel against the English, who had not offered them the least wrong,

These things being duly considered, with the eminent hazzard and great perill the people of *Connecticut* were in, it pleased God so to stir up the hearts of all men in general, & the Court of *Connecticut* in special, that they concluded it necessary that some Forces should be sent forth speedily, against the *Pequods*, their grounds being just, and necessity enforcing them to engage in an offensive and defensive War, the management of which Warr, with the good success the Most High was pleased to crown his people withall, we are nextly to relate.

A BRIEF HISTORY Of the War with the Pequot Indians in New-England; Anno 1637.

IN the beginning of May, 1637. there were sent out by Connecticut Colony ninety men, under the command of Capt. *John Mason* (afterwards Major *Mason*, and Deputy Governour of Connecticut Colony) against the *Pequots*, with whom went *Uncas* an Indian Sachem of *Mogheag*, who was newly revolted from the *Pequots*.

This small Army was shipped in one Pink, one Pinnace & one Shallop, some of which vessels in their passage down Connecticut River, fell on ground, by reason of the lowness of the water, and the unskillfulness of the English, in the channel. The Indians not being wonted to such things with their small Canoes, and also being impatient of all delays, desired they might be set on shore, promising they would meet our Army at *Seybrook*; which request of theirs was granted: and they being set at liberty hastning to their Quarters at *Seybrook*, met with about thirty or fourty of the *Pequots* near *Seybrook*, and engaged them, and slew seven of them upon the place, and had only one of their own wounded, who was conveyed back to Connecticut in a Skiffe.

Capt. *Underhill* hearing of the approach of the Army, went & met them and informed them what was performed by *Uncas* and his men, which news was welcome to them, and looked upon as a special providence; for before they were somewhat doubtfull of the fidelity of their Indian Volunteers.

Capt. *Underhill* hearing of the design our Army was upon, very freely offered his Service with nineteen men to go along with them, if Lieut. *Gardner* would allow of it (who was chief Commander at *Seybrook Fort*) which motion was no sooner propounded to Lieut. *Gardner*, but he readily approved of it, and our Councill of War accepted of it also; who in lieu of those twenty, immediately sent back

‘ twenty of theirs to Connecticut to help guard the women and children &c.

‘ Upon a wednesday our Army arrived at Saybrook, where they lay wind-bound till Friday, in which time the Council of War consulted how and in what manner they should proceed in their Enterprize, which was accompanied with much difficulty; their Commission ordering them to land their men in the *Pequit* River, against which were these difficultyes.

First. The *Pegnods* kept a continual Guard upon the River, night and day in a constant course.

‘ Secondly. Their numbers far exceeded ours; they had also sixteen gunns with powder and shot, besides their Indian Artillery, as our Council of War was informed by the two captive maids (mentioned where we declared the Grounds of this War) who were redeemed by the Dutch, and restored now to us at Saybrook, which was a very friendly office, and not to be forgotten.

‘ Thirdly. They were on Land, and being swift of foot, might much impede the landing of our men, and dishearten them, they continually guarding that River, and our men not knowing where to land nearer then *Narraganset*.

‘ Fourthly. It was alledged that if our Army landed at *Narraganset*, they would come upon their Backs, and possibly might surprize them unawares; at worst they should be on firm Land as well as the enemy.

‘ Notwithstanding these reasons, the Council of Warr, all of them except the Captain, were at a stand, and could not judg it meet to sail to *Narraganset*. Capt. *Malon* in this difficult case, went to the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Stone*, late Teacher to the Church of Christ at *Hartford*, who was sent as Preacher to the Army, and desired him that he would that night commend their case and difficultyes before the Lord, and seek direction of him in the matter, how and in what manner they should demean themselves. He retired himself from them aboard the *Pink* the remaining part of that day, and the following night was not wanting in spreading the case before the Lord, and seeking his direction, in the morning he came on shore to the Captains chamber, and told him he had done as he desired him, (and though formerly he had been against sailing to *Narraganset* and landing there, yet now he was fully satisfied to attend it.

‘ The Council being again called, and the matter debated, & reasons considered, they agreed all with one accord to sail to *Narragan-*

set, which the next morning they put in execution, which proved very
 successfull, as the sequel may evidently demonstrate. What shall I
 say? God led his people through manifold Difficultyes and Turnings,
 yet by more then an ordinary hand of Providence, He led them in a
 right way.

On Friday morning, they in pursuance of their design set sail for
 Narraganset Bay, and on Saturday toward evening they arrived at
 their desired Port, where they kept the Sabbath.

On Munday the wind blew so hard at Norwest that they could not
 go on shoar, as also on Tuesday till it was near Sunfet, but the wind
 abating, they and their design being commended to God by Mr. Stoney,
 Capt. Mason and his Company landed, and marched up to the place
 of the chief Sachims residence, and told him, that they had not an op-
 portunity before, to acquaint him with their coming, armed into his
 countrey, yet they hoped it would be wel accepted by him, there being
 amity between us and them, and also that the *Pequots* and they were
 enemies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable
 wrongs and injuries, those *Pequots* had lately done unto the English,
 and that they were now come (God assisting) to avenge ourselves upon
 them, and that they did only desire free passage through his countrey.

The *Sachim* returned this Answer, that he did accept of their com-
 ing, and did also approve of their designe, only he thought our
 numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, who were (as he said)
 very great Captains, and men skilful in war, thus he spake somewhat
 slightly of our men.

On Wednesday morning they marched from thence, to a place
 called *Niantick*, it being about eighteen, or twenty miles, distant,
 where another of those *Narraganset* Sachims lived in a Fort, it being
 a frontier to the *Pequots*. They carried it very proudly to our men,
 not permitting any of them to come into their fort.

Capt. Mason beholding their carriage, and knowing the fallhood
 of the Indians, fearing lest they might discover them to the enemy, es-
 pecially the Indians having many times some of their neer relations a-
 mongst their greatest Foes, saw cause to set a guard about their fort
 that no Indian might pass in or out, and charged the Indians not to
 pass out upon the peril of their lives. And there they Quartered that
 night, the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the morning came to the Army several of *Miantinomie* his men,
 who told them they were come to assist them in the expedition, which
 encouraged diverse Indians of that place to engage also, who drawing
 into

into a ring, one by one, made solemn protestation how gallantly they would demean themselves, and how many men they would kill.

On Thursday, about eight of the Clock in the morning, they marched thence towards *Piquet*, having about five hundred Indians with them. In which march, through the heat of the weather, and want of provision, some of our men fainted; but when they had marched about twelve miles, they came to *Pawganuck* River to a Foord, where the Indians said the *Pequots* did usually fish. There they made a stand and stayed some small time; but the *Narraganset* Indians manifested great fear, and many of them returned, although they had despised our men, and said they durst not look upon a *Pequot*, and vaunted what great things they themselves would do.

Capt. *John Mason* saw reason then to acquaint the Indians that they were come on purpose, and were resolved (God assisting) to see the *Pequots*, and to fight with them before they returned, although they perished; and then he enquired of *Uncas* what he thought the Indians would do; who said the *Narragansets* would all leave them, but as for himself, he would never leave them, and so it proved.

After they had there refreshed themselves with their mean Commons, they marched about three miles, and came to a field which had been planted with Indian corn, where they made another Alt: and supposing that they drew neer to the enemy, who, as they were informed, had two forts almost impregnable, which did no ways discourage the souldiers, but rather animated them, insomuch that they resolved to assault both the forts at once; but the Council of War having consulted the matter, understood that one of the forts, in which the bloodiest Sachim resided, was so remote that they could not possibly come up with it in season, and seeing some of the souldiers spent in the march with extream heat, and want of necessities, concluded and resolved to assault, and storm the nearest fort.

Then they marched on in a silent manner; The Indians that remained, who in the march hitherto kept the Van, (being surprised with great fear) fell all into the Reer. They continued their March till about an hour in the night, & then coming to a little Swamp between two hills, there they pitched their little Camp, being much wearied with hard travell; supposing (by the Relations of the *Indians*) they were near the Fort, which proved otherwise. The rocks were their pillows, yet rest was sweet and pleasant to them. The night proved comfortable being clear and Moonlight. They appointed their Guards, and placed their Sentinels at some distance, who heard their

Ene-

enemies, singing in their Fort until midnight, with great insulting and rejoycing (as they were afterwards informed by *Wiquash* a *Piquot* Captain, who was revolted from the *Pequots*, and was one of their Guides in this march) For they seeing our pinnaces sail by them a few days before concluded they were afraid of them, and durst not to come near them.

Towards morning Captain *Mason* being awakened, and seeing it very light, supposed it had been day, and so they might have lost their opportunity, having determined to make their assault before day and therefore immediately roused up his Souldiers, and briefly commended themselves and Designe to the guidance and Protection of the Lord, and went to the assault.

Their Indian Guide shewing them a path said it led directly to the Fort; they took the path, and marched on the best part of two miles, wondering that they saw not the Fort; and fearing that their Indian Guide might delude them; but coming to a place where corn was newly planted at the foot of a great hill, supposed the Fort was not far off, a champion Country being round about them. There the Captain caused his Company to make a stand, and gave order that the Indians should come unto him; at length *Uncus* & *Wiquash* came up, of whom he demanded where the Fort was; they answered, on the top of that Hill: He also enquired where the rest of the Indians were; they answered behind exceedingly afraid; he then desired them to tel the rest of their fellowes that they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether English men would now fight or not. Then Capt. *Underhill* came up into the Front, & after Capt. *Mason* had commended their case to God (their being two entrances into the Fort, they divided their men; & Capt. *Mason* lead up to that entrance on the North-east side, who approaching within a rod of the entrance a dog bark'd, and an Indian cryed *Wannux wannux*. He commanded his Souldiers to close up to the Fort, and fire upon them through the palizadoes, which they did; the Indians being in a dead and indeed in their last sleep. The Souldiers having fired wheeled off and came to the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which Capt. *Mason* very courageously leaped, and stood to make good the entrance, and commanded his Souldiers to follow him, one of which endeavouring, was entangled in the bushes, but getting back, pulled out the bushes and so the Souldiers followed their Captain into the Fort with their Swords drawn; for they had concluded to destroy them with the

Sword

sword, and so to save the plunder.

The Indians as yet kept their *wigwams*; Capt. *Mason* entred a Wigwam, and his Guard not seeing him, passed away from him, where he was strongly assaulted by many Indians, but he bravely defended himself, and slew several of his opposers; at last *William Heyden* perceiving the place where the Captain went in, essayed to go in himself, but in his entrance stumbled upon a dead man, but soon recovering himself, he fell upon the Indians. The Indians some were slain, some fled, others crept under their beds, where they slept their last; the Captain going out of the Wigwams met with many of them and put them to the sword; In which time of fight several English were wounded. Capt. *Mason* perceiving his men wounded, and the enemy not yet routed, saw cause himself to go into a wigwam, and fetch out a firebrand, and putting it in one of the mats with which the wigwams were covered, commanded one of his souldiers to throw some powder upon it, which set the mat on fire, which the wind taking; it was quickly thoroughly kindled, which made the Indians run as men most dreadfully amazed.

And Indeed such a dreadfull terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits, that they would fly from the sword, and cast themselves into the very flames, where many of them perished.

The fort being fired, the Captain commanded that all should march out of the fort, and surround it; which was readily attended by all, only one *Arthur Smith* was so wounded that he could not move out of the place, who was happily espyed by *Leit. Tho. Bull*, and by him rescued from the flames, which otherwise had consumed him.

The fire was kindled on the *North-east* side to windward, which did swiftly over run the whole Fort, to the extream amazement of the enemy, and great rejoycing of our souldiers; some of the enemy climbed to the tops of the pallizadoes, where they were shot down, others gathered to the windward side of the Fort, and lay pelting at our men with their arrows, who repaid them with their final shot, others of the stoutest issued forth of the Fort, about fourty of them who fell by the sword.

Capt. *Underhil* and those with him acted their parts in this tragedy, especially one *Mr. Hedge*, who was the first that entred that gate to which Capt. *Underhil* led up; the fire was no sooner kindled but the smoke and flames were so violent, that they were constrained to desert the Fort and keep them in.

Thus

' Thus were they now at their wits end, who not many houres before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatening and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances; but God was above them, who laughed his enemyes and the enemyes of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven; thus were the stout hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands; thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies.

' And here we may take notice of Gods judgement upon this bloody Generation, in sending the very night before the assault an hundred and fifty men from their other fort to join with this fort, who were designing (as some of themselves have related) to go forth against the English at that very instant when this stroke came upon them, where the most of them perished with their fellows, so that the mischief they intended against us came upon themselves; they were taken in their own snare and we through the mercy of God escaped. And thus in little more then one houres space was their Impregnable fort, with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of *five or six hundred*, as hath been confessed by the *Pequots* who escaped. There were seven taken captive, and about *eight* escaped; and *of the English* there were *two slain* outright, and above *twenty* wounded. Some of our souldiers fainted for want of such comforts and necessaryes as were needful in such a case. The Chyrurgion was much wanted, who was left with the Barks in Narraganset Bay, with order there to remain until the night before they intended the assault.

' And thereupon grew many difficultyes amongst the Army, their provision and ammunition being neer spent, and they in the enemyes country, who did far exceed them in numbers, being much enraged, and most of our Indian friends having left them, and our pinnaces at a great distance from them, and their coming uncertain.

' But as they were consulting what course to take, it pleased God to discover our vessels to them, under a fair Gale of wind sailing into the *Pequot* Harbour, to their great rejoicing.

' They had no sooner discovered our vessels, but immediately came up the enemy from the other fort about three hundred of them. Capt. *Mason* led forth a file or two of men to skirmish with them, which stopt their Carrier, and put them to a stand, and then they prepared to march towards our vessels, but four or five of our men were so wounded that they were faine to be carried, with the Armes of about *twenty* more which took up so many of the souldiers, that there was not above forty

men free, but at length they hired several Indians to carry the wounded men, who eased them of that burthen, and carried their wounded men for them.

And when the souldiers had marched about a quarter of a mile, the enemy came to the place where the fort had stood, and when they beheld the ruines thereof, and the carcases of their friends lye some upon the earth, others scorched, and some almost consumed, with the fire, they stamped and tore the hair from their heads, and ran mouting down the hill in their full Carreer, and the loss they met withal made them wary not to come near.

The souldiers then meeting with a small brook at the foot of the hill being very dry, sat down and refreshed themselves, the enemy being grown by this time so wary they durst not come too neer, to disturb them.

Then they marched on towards *Piquot* Harbour, and meeting with several *swamps* in the way they burnt them; the enemy followed them, and some lay in ambush behind rocks and trees, often shooting at them, yet God so covered them, that not one of them was hurt, and when they came to any swamp or thicket, they made some shot, and cleared a passage, and some of the enemy fell, which our Indians seeing, would give a great shout, and then venture to fetch their heads, and thus they continued, till they came within two miles of *Pequot* Harbour, where the enemy gathered themselves together, and lest our army, they marched on to the top of an hill adjoining to the harbour, with their colours flying, (as for their Drum, it was lost, or at least left by their Drummer at the place where they kept their rendezvouze the night before) where they saw our vessels riding at Anchor to their great rejoicing, and when they had marched to the water side, there they sat down in quiet.

Capt. *Patrick* being there arrived (with our vessels) with forty men sent by the *Massachusetts* Colony upon some service against the block-Islanders or *Pequots*, came to the shore in a shallop, with some of his men, as he said, to rescue our Army, supposing they had been pursued, although there did appear no sign of any such thing.

But Capt. *Patrick* could not be prevailed with by any means to venture himself on shore while our wounded men were carried on board, which was troublesome, not only to our souldiers, but to his own men also, who manifested their dislike of his carriage; at length our men were fetched aboard our vessels, to the great rejoicing of their friends, where they did with one heart blesse the Lord, for his mercy & goodness unto them.

I might

'I might here relate a contest that fell out between Capt. *Underhill* and Capt. *Patrick*, about Capt. *Underhill's* claiming an Interest in the Bark in which Capt. *Patrick* sailed, which by the mediation of Capt. *Mason* was issued, and that being the place of *Rendezvouze*, where vessels were expected from the *Massachusetts*, it was agreed that Capt. *Patrick* should there ride in that Bark, and secure the *Narraganset* Indians untill our vessel could carry our wounded men to *Seybrook*, and our Pink return to carry home the *Narraganset* Indians.

'After this agreement, Capt. *Underhill* set sail for *Seybrook* in our Bark, but before he was out of sight, Capt. *Patrick* signified by writing to Capt. *Mason* that he could not attend that Service he had engaged for he must with his company wait at *Seybrook*, for some vessels he expected from the Bay; advising Capt. *Mason* seeing he had obtained the honour of that Service, he would compleat it in securing the *Narraganset* Indians, &c. Which indeed was a hard task and difficult; for the Pink could not entertain them, and to march by land was dangerous, it being near twenty miles, and in the enemies country, and their numbers being small; for they had sent home about twenty men to help strengthen the Plantations on *Connecticut*, for fear of the *Peguots* invading of them, but at last, seeing they were necessitated to march to *Seybrook* by land, they went ashore with the Indians, and began their march; Capt. *Patrick* seeing what they were about, came ashore also with his men; and although Capt. *Mason* told him he did not delight in his company, yet he would and did march along with them.

'In their march, about the mid-way between that and *Seybrook*, they fell upon a people called *Nianticks*, belonging to the *Peguots*, who fled to a swamp for refuge; but when they heard or saw this small troop they fled, who pursued them awhile by their track as long as they kept together; but the day being much spent, Sabbath drawing on, & themselves much spent with their former travel, and service, they left their pursuit, and marched on towards *Seybrook*, and about sun-set they arrived by *Connecticut* Rivor side; where they were welcomed by Lieut. *Gardner*, with many great Gunns, but were forced there to take up their Quarters that night. On the morrow morning they were all fetched over, where they kept the Sabbath, and were nobly entertained by Lieut. *Gardner*, from whom they received many Courtesies.

'And when they had taken order for the safe conduct of the *Narraganset* Indians to their Country, Capt. *Mason* with his men returned to *Connecticut* the place of their abode, where they were entertained with great

great triumph, and rejoycing and praising of God, for his goodness to us in succeeding our endeavours, in crowning them with success, and in restoring our small Army with so little loss.

Thus was God seen in the mount, crushing his proud enemies, and the enemies of his people, so that they who were ere while a terror to all that were round about them, who resolved to destroy all the English, and to root their very name out of this Country, were by weak means thus vanquished and destroyed, and the mischief they plotted, and the violence they offered, was brought upon their own heads in a moment; for the Lord burnt them up in the fire of his wrath, & dunged the ground with their flesh, it was the Lords doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. It is He that hath made His work wonderfull, and therefore ought to be remembred.

Suddenly after this, the whole Body of the remaining *Pequots* repaired to that Fort where *Sassacons* the chief Sachim did reside, and charged him that he was the only cause of all their troubles that befell them, and therefore they would destroy both him and his; yet by the entreaty of his Counsellors, they spared his life; and consulting what course to take, concluded there was no abiding any longer in their Country, and so resolved to fly into several parts. The greatest body of them went towards *Manadus*, and in their passage over *Connecticut* River, they met with three English men in a shallop going for *Seybrook*, and fought them, who resisted them stoutly, and killed & wounded many of them, but their shallop falling on ground, they were all three slain.

About a fortnight after our souldiers were returned home from *Misick* Fight, we heard of the arrival of several vessels from the *Massachusetts Colony* in *Pequot* River; Capt. *Israel Stoughton* being Commander in chief, and with him about 120 men, who were sent by that Colony to prosecute the War against the *Pequots*; and although the main Body of the *Pequots* were fled, yet some straglers remained in that Country, some of whom were discovered by the *Mohags*, and by them discovered to the *Massachusetts* Forces, by whom they were both surprised and taken, and several of which, to the number of about twenty three, were put to death; the rest were sent to the Bay.

The Colony of *Connecticut* hereupon sent forth Capt. *Mason* again with forty men, as also several Gentlemen, (as the Honour'd *John Haines* & *Roger Ludlow* Esqrs.) to meet with those of the *Massachusetts* to consult and determine what was further necessary to be attended. who meeting with those of the *Massachusetts* in the *Pequot* harbour, after

'after consultation, concluded to pursue the *Pequots* (who as you heard
 'before were fled towards the *Menados*) and so began their march after
 'them, and discovered several places where they had rendezvowed and
 'lodged not far distant one from the other, for they could make but
 'little hast, by reason of their ancient people and children, and their
 'want of provision, being forced to gather clams, and such other things
 'as the wilderness afforded for their relief. The vessels sailed along
 'by the shore. In the march, some were gleaned, but within the space
 'of three dayes, or thereabouts, they arrived at a place then called
 'Quinipiag (now *New-haven*) and there espying a great smoke in the
 'woods, not far distant, supposing the *Pequots* might be there, they
 'went to discover them; but they quickly discovered them to be Con-
 'necticut Indians. From thence they sent a *Pequot* captive (whom they
 'named *Luz*) upon discovery, who brought them tidings of the enemy
 'which proved real. The *Pequots* were so terrified in their flight, that
 'a *Moheag* Indian (named *Jack Eaton*) meeting in this pursuit with
 'three *Pequots*, took two of them and brought them to the English.

'But to return, they having tidings where the *Pequots* were, hastned
 'toward the place where they heard they were, and at last coming into a
 'corn field, several of the English espyed some Indians, who fled from
 'them. They pursued them, and coming to the top of an hill, saw se-
 'veral wigwams just opposite, only a swamp intervening, which was
 'almost divided in two parts. One Serjeant *Palmer* hastning with a-
 'bout twelve men (who were then under his command) to surround
 'the smaller part of the swamp that so he might prevent the Indians fly-
 'ing. But Lievt. *Davenport*, Serjeant *Jefferyes* &c. going up to the
 'wigwams were there assaulted by the Indians. In this Skirmish the
 'English slew but few, two or three of themselves were wounded, the
 'rest of their Army coming up, the swamp was surrounded.

'Their Council being called, the question was propounded how
 'they should proceed? Capt. *Patrick* advised that they should cut
 'down the swamp, (they having taken many Indian hatchets) Others
 'propounded to hedge in the swamp, which others judged would be to
 'no purpose, and therefore strongly opposed it. Some other advised
 'to force the swamp, having time enough (it being about three a clock
 'in the afternoon) but that being opposed, it was then propounded that
 'the men should be drawn up close to the swamp, which would have
 'lessened the circumference, and then to fill up the open passages with
 'bushes, that so they might secure them till the morning, and then con-
 'sider farther about it. But neither of those would pass, so different
 'were

were their apprehensions, which was very grievous to some, who concluded the Indians would make an escape in the night, as easily they might, & did, the swamp being large and their numbers so small that they were forced to stand at a great distance one from another, which made their escape more easie.

Capt. *Mason* took order that the narrow passage in the swamp should be cut through, which would much shorten the leaguer, which was accordingly attended and resolutely performed by Serjeant *Davis* and some others with him.

Mr. *Thomas Stanton* a man well acquainted vwith the Indians language and manners, perceiving the Counsell of War loth to destroy Women and children, (as also the Indians of that place) freely offered his service to go into the swamp and treat with them, which the Council were somewhat backward to, by reason of some hazard he might be exposed to, but his importunity prevailed, who going to them did in a short time come to the Council with near 200. old men, women and Children, vwho delivered themselves to the mercy of the English, most of vvhich brought their small present with them, and laid it down before the Councell. Now night drawing on, they did beleaguer the swamp as strongly as they could.

But above halfe an hour before day the Indians that were in the swamp, attempted to break through Capt. *Patrick's* Quarters, But were beaten back several times; they made a great noise, as the manner is at such times, which sounded round about the league; Capt. *Mason* sent Serjeant *Stares* to assist those against whom the Pequots pressed to come out by, at which time also Capt. *Trask* came in to their assistance, but the tumult encreasing, the siege was raised, and they marching up to a place at a turning of the swamp, the Indians were forcing out upon them, but they fired upon them, and sent them back by their small shot; Then they waited a little for their second attempt, but the Indians facing about, and pressing violently upon Capt. *Patrick's* Quarters, brake through, and so escaped about seventy of them, as the Indians informed; the swamp was searched; there were but few found slain. The Captives that were taken were about an hundred and eighty, which were divided between the two Colonies, and they intended to keep them as servants, but they could not endure that yoke; for few of them continued any considerable time with their masters.

Thus did the Lord scatter his enemyes with his strong arm. The Pequots now became a prey to all Indians, happy were they that

that could bring in their heads to the English, of which there came almost dayly to *Windsor*, or *Hartford*; But the *Peguots* growing weary hercof, sent some of the chief that survived to mediate with the English, offering that if they might but enjoy their lives, they would become the English vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased.

Whereupon *Uncas* and *Miantonimo* were sent for, who with the *Peguots* met at *Hartford*; The *Peguots* being demanded, how many of them were then living, They answered, about an hundred and eighty or two hundred; Then were there granted to *Uncas* Sachim of *Moheag* eighty, and to *Miantonimo* Sachim of *Narraganset* eighty, and to *Ninnicraft* twenty men, when he should satisfy for a more of *Elwood Pomeroyes*, killed by some of his men; The *Peguots* likewise were by covenant bound, that they should no more inhabit their native country; nor should any of them be called *Peguots* but *Moheags* and *Narragansets* for ever; Shortly after about forty of them went to *Moheag*, others went to Long-Island, others settled at *Pawcatuck*, a place in the *Peguat* country, contrary to their covenant and agreement with the English so lately made, which *Connecticut* taking into consideration, and well weighing the inconveniences that might ensue; for the prevention whereof, they sent forth forty men under the command of Capt. *Mason*, to supplant them by burning their wigwams and bringing away their corn, except they would desert the place: *Uncas* with about one hundred of his men in twenty cannoes also went to assist them in the service; as they sailed into *Pawcatuck* Bay, they met with three of those Indians whom they sent to inform the rest with the end of their coming, and also to tell them that they desired to speak with them or some of them, they promised to doe the message; and speedily to return; but they forgot to keep their word, for they came not.

Then they went up into the River in their vessel, but by reason of flats were forced to land on the Westside of the River, their wigwams being on the East-side, just opposite, where they saw the Indians running up and down, jeering at them.

Then they landed, and went up into a narrow place in the River between two rocks, where they drew up the Indian Cannooes, and got suddenly over the River, sooner then they were expected, and marched up to the wigwams, where the Indians were all fled, except some old people that could not

They were so suddenly upon them, that they had not time to convey away their goods; There was plenty of corn, it being the time of harvest

vest, and when they had viewed it, they were passing to the water side to the pinnacle, halfe of *Uncas* his men being with them, the rest were plundering the Wigwams, and as they were marching they looked behind them, and saw about sixty Indians running towards them, untill they came within forty paces of the Indians, then they run and met them, and fell on pell mell, striking and cutting with bowes and hatchets and knives &c. after their feeble manner, Indeed it did not deserve the name of fighting, They then endeavoured to get between the Indians and the woods, that so they might prevent their flying, which the Indians perceived, and endeavoured speedily to get away under the beach, but our men made no shot at them, but they laid hold on about seven of them, who were *Ninnicrafts* men, who grew very outrageous; the Captain told them if they were not quiet they should be made shorter by the head; and when they were going to put it into execution, *Ostah* Sachim of *Narraganset*; and brother to *Miantonimo*, stepped forth to Capt. *Mason*, and told him, those men whom he was going to execute, were his brothers men, who was a friend to the English, and if their lives might be spared, he would engage to deliver so many murderers heads in lieu of them to the English; The Captain granted his desire, and the men were delivered to *Uncas* to be secured till *Ostah* his engagement was performed.

Then they drew up their Bark into a Creek the better to defend her, there being some hundreds of Indians within five miles, waiting their motions.

But there they quartered that night. In the morning as soon as it was light, there appeared in armes at least three hundred Indians on the other side the Creek, upon which the Captain commanded his men to stand to their Armes, which the Indians perceiving, some of them fled, others crept behind the rocks and trees, not one of them were to be seen.

They then called to them, saying, they desired to speak with them, and that they would lay down their armes for that end, vvhcreupon they stood up: The Captain told them that the *Pegnors* had violated their promise and Covenant vvvith the English, in that they vvcre not there to inhabit, and that he vvvas sent to supplant them; The Indians answered, the *Pegnors* vvcre good men, their friends, and they vvould fight for them and protect them; vvvhich vvords moved the Captain, vvho told them it vvvas not far to the head of the creek, vvhere he vvould meet them, and then they might try vvhat they could do;

The

The Indians replied, *they would not fight with Englishmen, for they were afraid*; but they would fight with *Uncas*. The Captain told them he thought it was too early for them to fight, but they might take their opportunity and fight when they saw cause, for they should be burning their Wigwams, and carrying their corn aboard all the day, and presently caused the Drum to be beat up, and fired the Wigwams in their view; But as they marched along, there stood two Indians upon an hill jeering & reviling of them; Mr. Stanton the interpreter marching at liberty, desired leave of the Captain to make a shot at them; the Captain demanded of the Indians, who they were; they answered that they were murderers; The Captain then gave Mr. Stanton leave to make a shot at them, who did so; and shot one of them through both his thighs, which was to the wonderment both of English and Indians, it being at such a vast distance.

They then proceeded and loaded their Bark with Indian Corn, and their Canoes, about thirty of them, with *Indian Trays, Kettles, Mats*, and other luggage, and then went on board, and made homeward, and it pleased God to prosper them, so that in a short time they all arrived in safety at the place of their abode; Though they were in hazard by the vessels striking upon a rock, and sticking thereon a while in their return, yet the Lord bore them in his own arms, and preserved them from danger.

Thus we may see how the face of God is set against them that do evil, to cut off their remembrance from the earth.

Our tongues therefore shall talk of his righteousness all the day long, for they are confounded, they are brought to shame that sought our hurt. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wonderful things, & blessed be his holy name forever, Let the whole earth be filled with his glory*; for the Lord was pleased to smite our enemies in the hinder parts, and to give us their land for an inheritance, who remembered us in our low estate, and redeemed us out of our enemies hands; Let us therefore praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works to the Children of men.

Upon the whole it may not be amiss to gather out some specialties of providence, that so the goodness of God may be taken notice of, & our hearts enlarged in the praise and service of that God who hath wrought so wonderfully for our fathers and for us.

Those who were employed in this service were not many, their Commons were very short, there being then a general scarcity through our this Colony of all sorts of provision, it being upon our very be-

Aginnings on the place, they had but little refreshment with them in their long march from *Narraganset* to *Piquet*; but one pint of liquor which was moderately dealt out to such as fainted in the way, by reason of the extremity of the heat and sore travel: after the liquor was spent, the very smelling to the bottle was effectual for the reviving of the fainting souldiers. They walked in an unknown path, yet God guided them in the way they should goe, though they knew not where the *Fort* was, nor how far it was to them, nor the way that lead to them otherwise then what they had from their Indian Guides, in whom they durst not confide, and that in their so long a march among a treacherous people, who had several relations amongst our enemies, and that in their march, and allodgment in the enemies country, which was very populous, they should not be discovered, but brought to their enemies in the fittest season, when more of them then usually were together, and that they should be so succeeded in their design, (as you have heard) is matter of wonderment.

What shall I say? God was pleased to hide them in the hollow of his hand. It was a Saying of Mr. *Hoeker*, that man of God, in his encouragements to the Souldiers, as they were going forth to those engagements, that the *Piquet* should be bread for them; and the Lord made good his Sayings.

It may not be amiss here also to remember Mr. *Stone* (the famous Teacher of the Church of *Hartford*) who was sent to preach & pray with those that went out in these engagements against the *Piquet*; He lent his best assistance and counsel in the management of those designs. and the night in which the engagement was, (in the morning of it) I say that night he was with the Lord alone, wrestling with Him by Faith and Prayer; and surely his Prayers prevailed for a blessing; and in the very time when our Israel were engaging with the blood-thirsty *Piquet*, he was in the top of the mount, and so held up his hand, that Israel prevailed.

In those engagements some men had special deliverances. There were two men, being one mans servants, who were both shot in the knotts of their neck-cloathes about their necks, and received no hurt. Also Lieut. *Sisly*, was shot in the eyebrow with a flat headed arrow, the point turning downward, the Captain himself pulled the arrow out. Lieut. *Bull* was also shot on the back with an arrow, which met with an hard piece of cheese and went no further, which may verifie the old Saying *a little armour would serve if a man knew where to place it.* Thus the Lord did great things for his people among the Heathen whereof we are glad, Praise ye the Lord. The

The year following, the Colony of Connecticut being in great want of provision; Indian corn being at twelve shillings the bushel: The Court of Connecticut employed Capt. *Mason* & Mr. *William Wadsworth*, and Deacon *Edward Stibbing*, to make a trial what providence would afford for their relief, in this great streight; who notwithstanding some discouragements they met with from some English, went to a place called *Pocompsuck*, where they procured so much corn at reasonable rates, that the Indians brought down to *Hartford* and *Windsor* fifty cannoes laden with corn at one time, never was the like known to this day, so that although the Lord was pleased to shew his people hard things in their beginnings, yet did he execute judgment for the oppressed, and gave food to the Hungry, affording them his continued protection and blessing, in the bountifull supply of the good things of this life, with the continuance of his gospel and ordinances, and a plentiful Increase of their number, from four Plantations which was then the alone number of the Colony of Connecticut, to twenty four towns, which is the present number of towns in this Colony; and from three Churches to nineteen, which is the number now settled in this Colony.

Thus farr is Mr. *John Adyn* his Narrative of the *Piquot* troubles, which I take to be the most perfect account thereof that is extant, or that probably will be now attained, since few of those who were personally concerned in that war, and who are fit to give a Relation thereof, are at this day in the land of the living.

Nevertheless I have met with a Manuscript, in the Library of a learned and worthy person deceased, wherein the passages of the *Piquot* war, are described. The Author of the script I know not, nor can conjecture, saving that it was one who had a particular and personal acquaintance with those affairs. It doth in substance agree with that of Mr. *John Adyn*: only in some particulars, a more full account of proceedings, is expressed. For, this Manuscript *Adyn* doth Relate as followeth, viz. That in Anno 1634. a Bark wherein was Capt. *Stone*, and Capt. *Norton*, with six men besides going up Connecticut River, were all killed by the *Piquot* Indians, and the Bark sunk near a steep Rock, which to this day bears the name of Capt. *Stones Rock*. In the year following a Bark going from the Bay, bound to *Virginia*, was by a Tempest cast away at Long-Island, certain *Piquots* there killed two Englishmen, the rest escaping.

In Anno 1636. A Vessel going from Connecticut towards the Bay, putting in at Block Island, the Indians coming aboard to trade, killed the Master. Another vessel coming from Connecticut, taken with a cross wind, intended to put in at *Narraganset*, but could not; being therefore forced upon *Block Island*, they saw a bark with her sails up, driving too and fro, they hailed her, but no Answer was given; perceiving her full of Indians they suspected the English belonging to the Vessel were murdered. whereupon they discharged their guns, shooting bullets amongst the Indians, who, many of them immediately leaped overboard. The Master entred the Vessel, and lifting up a Cloth saw an Englishman dead, and discerning that many Indians were still in the hold, he returned to his own Vessel again, from thence pouring in small shot upon the Indians, for a while, until the wind coming fair; he sailed away to *Boston*, informing the Governour and Council there, concerning what he had seen, whence about an hundred Souldiers were forthwith sent to *Block Island*. As they were landing, the Indians came down and shot violently at them, wounding one man, but as soon as one Englishman was landed, they ran away. The English pursued them two dayes, burning their Corn and Wigwams, but the Indians betook themselves to Swamps, thereby escaping with their lives. After this they resolved for the *Pequi* Country, having received some Intelligence of the Insolency and outrage of those Indians. As they were sailing up the River, many of the *Piquots* on both sides of the River called to them, desirous to know what was their end in coming thither, they were told that they desired to speak with *Sassacus*, one of the Sachems; the Indians said he was gone to *Long Island*; then it was demanded that *Momanottuck* another of their Sachems should appear. It was pretended that he was not at home neither. The English went ashore, and required the Indians to deliver up those that had murdered Capt. *Stone*, it was Answered, that they were also gone from home, but they would send after them, and deliver them to Justice, and that they might the better keep the English in parley, they said that their Sachem would presently come and treat with them. In the mean time they transported their goods, women and Children to another place.

At last one of the Indians declared plainly, that *Momanottuck* would not come. Immediately a Skirmish followed. wherein one Indian was killed, and an English man was wounded. The Indians fled, the English pursuing, set fire to their Wigwams, and destroyed their Corn, so did they return to their Vessel. A few dayes after this, going on shore again,

again, as they were loading themselves with Corn, the Indians violently assaulted them, so that they were forced to leave their Corn and stand to their Arms. At this time an Indian was killed and two English men sorely wounded. The Indians attempted the Vessels, but were entertained with such Volleys of small shot as made them afraid to board any, so the Barks arrived safe at *Say-brook* Fort. The next day some of the Fort going up the River to fetch Hay, the *Piquets* privily came upon them, took one man and afterward roasted him alive, another shot with five Arrows lived fourteen weeks and dyed, the rest escaped with much danger. After this the *Piquets* came near the Fort & destroyed many of the English Cattel. About two miles distant from the Fort there was an English house wherein were Souldiers. Their Commander charged them not to go out of doors, yet three of them would venture, and as they were a musket shot from the house, the Indians encompassed them, and took two of them alive, the third being wounded did with his naked Sword escape through them to the house, relating to the Company the sad Event, and that one of those English that were taken did first kill two Indians. The next day all the English deserted that house and repaired to the Fort. The Indians then quickly burned that, and two other houses. They made towards the Fort as if they would have done some great matter; but a great Gun being discharged at them, they went quite away, and were no more seen at *Say-brook* for the greatest part of that winter. Only three miles up the River two men going in a Canoo to shoot Geese, the Indians hearing the Report of their Guns, came upon them. Those two English fought to save their lives by paddling, but the Indians pursued them with another Canoo shot at them and wounded one in his head, who fell overboard, the other shot stoutly at the Indians but at last being wounded and wearied, the Indians overtook him, he with his paddle cleft one of the Indians heads, but the rest took him, and tortured him to death.

Feb. 22. The Lieut. with nine Souldiers well armed, went out of the Fort to burn the woods thereabouts, being gone half a mile from home they were besett with about seventy Indians, who let fly their Arrows very fiercely; the English retreated, one man presently was shot in the neck, and then did they lay hands on him, he drew his Sword, but that was taken from him; Then would he (as the Indians afterwards testified) have killed himself with his own knife, but that also did the Indians deprive him of, and cut off his nose and hands, and put him to a cruel death; They shot down another English man with three

Arrows, and a third his one of his ribs cleft with an Arrow, so that he died immediately. A fourth was mortally wounded, and though he got hom alive, he died within fourteen hours, a fifth was sorely wounded, but afterwards recovered, and lived (the next year) to behead that very Indian who had shot an arrow into him. Yea, the Lieut. himself was wounded in this Skirmish. After this the Indians kept Leaguer before *Saybrook* Fort.

March. 9. A bod y of Indians, consisting (as was conjectured) of two or three hundred came with in musket shot of the Fort, challenging the English to come out and fight, mocking and upbraiding them with such words as the English used when by them tortured to death, and bragged that they could kill English men *all one flies*: But two great Gunns laden with Carthages of musket bullets being fired at them, away they went, and hearing that the *Narragansetts* were invading their country, they visited *Seybrook* no more.

After these things, a shallop coming down from Connecticut, with three men rowing, was set upon by several canoes of Indians, the English fought stoutly so long as they could, but one of them being shot through the nose, so as the arrow went out at the crown of his head, fell overboard and dyed: The other two were taken by the Indians, who ripped them up from the bottom of the belly to the throat, and cleft them down the back throughout, and afterwards hung them up by the neck on a tree by the River side, that the English might see them as they passed by; the shallop they drew ashore and set on fire.

May. 15. 1637. Some of *Uncas*'s men being then at *Saybrook*, in order to assisting the English against the *Pequers*, cipyed seven Indians, and slyly encompassing them, slew five of them, and took one Prisoner, and brought him to the English Fort, which was great satisfaction and encouragement to the English, who before that exploit had many fears touching the fidelity of the Moheag Indians. He whom they took Prisoner, was a perfidious Villain, one that could speak English well, having in times past lived in the fort, and knowing all the English there, had been at the slaughtering of all the English that were slaughtered thereabouts; He was a continual spy about the fort, informing *Sassacus* of what he saw or could learn. When this bloody traitor was executed, his limbs were by violence pulled from one another, and burned to ashes; some of the Indian executioners barbarously taking his flesh, they gave it to one another, and did eat it, withall singing about the fire.

It is also reported that before the *Mistick* fight, a friendly Indian that

that was sent thither as a secret spy, brought word that the *Pequots* were singing, and dancing, and blessing their God, in that they supposed the English were gone from them; and that in the night the English came upon them, they were fallen into a deep sleep, by reason of their long dancing the night before, and their sentinel was gone out of his place to light a pipe of Tobacco, just as the English surprized them, and when our souldiers gave fire there was not one that missed; the *Pequots* so alarumed, in horrou and amazement, crying *Wannocks Wannocks*, i.e. Englishmen, Englishmen; some of the old men taking hold of others that were willing to run away, and saying, as we have lived together, so let us dy together, the Wigwam which was first set on fire, being to the windward side carried all before it, (as is in the Narrative intimated) At that time there were two English men slain, (one of which was thought to be shot by an English man) and twenty four wounded, whereof one dyed within few dayes. Also fourty Indians that were friends to the English were hurt in that engagement. It was supposed that no less then five or six hundred *Pequot* souls were brought down to Hell that day. Moreover, it is therein added, that as the English marched towards their vessels in the River, still as they came near any swamp, they sent in a volley of shot, lest the enemy should haply be in ambush in those dark places of the earth, and some Indians have related that the English did by that means kill more men of war in their marching away, then in the fight at the Fort, whereby also *Sassacus* his plot to cut off the English as they passed by swamp-ambushments was utterly and happily frustrated.

It is further said, that an Indian called *Wegouss* did direct the English to the Fort at *Mistick*, which *Wegouss* was by birth a Sachim of that place but upon some disgust received. he went from the *Pequots* to the *Narragansets*, and became a chief Captain under *Miantonimo*; and that there were with those eighty English Souldiers, who engaged in this expedition against the *Pequots*, at first four hundred Indians, whereof three hundred were *Narragansets*. The day before the fight there was some agitation which Fort should be first assaulted, whether that of *Mistick*, or another eight miles further, where *Sassacus* himself resided. The English were an end to be upon *Sassacus*, but the Indians were afraid saying, that *Sassacus* was all one God, and no body could kill him; this made the English yet more desirous to try what power was in this imaginary Deity, and that was the conclusion, whereupon many of the *Narragansets* withdrew, and returned all home, reporting that the English were cut off by the Indians, the same of which was quickly at

Boston; to the great affliction of the English until such time as the truth of things was certainly known. In this *Interim* one of Capt. *Underbills* Souldiers fell lame, not being able to go so far as the place where *Sassacus* was supposed to be; whence the Captain changed his purpose, and determined for *Mislick*; and Capt. *Mason* was not willing they should part asunder, so did they agree to make their Assault there; few or none of the Indians which were in the Fort escaped, whole companies of them gathered together and were burnt to death; those that escaped the Fire, the English without the Fort slew them with the sword, so that round about the Fort, dead men lay, hideous to behold.

The *Indians Goliath*, even their only Champion, being a man of huge stature was then slain, he brake through the souldiers and although one *Sergeant* stroke him on the neck with his Cutlash, he got by him, and by five souldiers more, but the sixth killed him.

And those that escaped the sword, the friendly Indian that encompassed the English took as Captives to the number of . . .

This was done upon Friday, May, 26. Anno 1637. A Memorable Day.

Upon this notable victory *Sassacus* his heart failed him his men of war being many of them cut off, so that he fled his Country, breaking down his Forts, and burning his Wigwams himself, he marched away by land, with some men, women and Children, their goods being sent away in *Cannoes*. The English at *Say-brook* had notice of the *Cannoes*, and an advantage to stop their passage, but Capt. *Kilpatrick* delayed until the opportunity was gone, so that *Sassacus* with his routed train coming up to the *Cannoes* six miles from *Say-brook* Fort, was transported over the River, and fled towards *Quinipiack*. Being now enraged he solicited his men of War, that they might go, and fall upon the English at *Connecticut*, but some of them not consenting, that design of his was not put in execution; he therefore fled to the *Mohawks*, who (being as is supposed excited thereto by the revengfull *Narragansets*) cut off his head.

Many of the *Pequots* before *Sassacus* his death returned to their Country again; but souldiers being sent from the *Massachusetts* the returned *Pequots* were presently distressed, ours ran sacking their country, and setting a garrison therein, quickly came back to *Say-brook*, with one of the *Pequot* Sachims, and other *Indian* Captives. After which a supply of men from *Connecticut* coming to the *Massachusetts* Souldiers, they sailed westward in pursuit of the *Pequots* who were fled that way, sailing along to the westward of *Mononowuttuck*, the wind

wind not answering their desires, they cast Anchor, where two *Sachems* from *Long-Island* came to them, desiring peace and promising to deliver up whatever *Pequots* should fly to them for shelter, some scattering *Pequots* were then taken and slain, as also the *Pequot Sachem*, before expressed, had his head cut off, whence that place did bear the name of *Sachems head*. Being come near to *Quinipiack* observing a smock, it was conjectured that the Enemy might be thereabouts, whereupon Indians were set on shore to hunt after them, but they could find no more then two, one of which was the *Sachems* son of that place, supposed to be Confederate with the *Pequots*. They promised to conduct the English to the Enemy, but failed in performance. After that they took another Indian Captive. who likewise engaged to lead the English upon the *Pequots*, but he directed them into a quite contrary way, for which his life was deservedly taken from him. But an Indian called *Luz*, who was before taken Captive by our Souldiers in the *Pequot* Country, with two other Indians that were his kinsmen, promised if the English would give him, and his kinsmen their lives, He would conduct them to the Enemies they sought after. He did so, the *Pequots* with other Indians belonging to those parts, were found near a Swamp, into which they did betake themselves for safety, upon the approach of the English Souldiers. After a while, an Indian came out of the Swamp unarmed, with a present of *Wampam*. The English declared to him that they came not to take away the lives of the Indians nor their goods, if they would deliver up the murderers that were amongst them. After which ninety nine came forth with their Sachim, who offered as a present all the Estate he had to dispose of, and that was nothing but the Coat on his back, being a Bears Skin. He was sent into the Swamp again to signify to the *Pequots* there lurking, that if they would bring forth the murderers it should be better for them, which they would not do, but at last professed they had lived together, and they would dy together.

There were about seventy or eighty Indians in the Swamp, amongst whom there were twelve murderers. So then the English beset the Swamp; and shot in upon them, and the Indians at them, some of which were furnished with Guns. One in special that was climbing up a Tree to shoot at the English, was espied by a Souldier, who sent a Bullet into him before the other could make his shot. In the night time the Indians brake away. Diligent search was the next day made in the Swamp for dead Indians, Not many, (as some have made Narration) but seven, and no more could be found. As for the Captives a

Guard was appointed to look after them, they were charged upon peril of their lives not to attempt running away; yet one of them betook himself to his heels, but a Souldier shot after him, and killed him, which struck a Terror into the rest of the Captives, that no man durst make an offer to escape. These things do I find related by *Anonymus*. There is not much more additional to what is expressed in Mr. *Allyn's* Narrative, some of these particulars insisted on confirming the truth of that. Only one thing more is contained therein which I have not elsewhere met with, which therefore it may not be amiss here to take notice of. It is this, Whereas on April 23. 1637. The Indians coming upon the English at *Wethersfield* killed nine persons, and took two young women alive, and carried them away Captives, means were used to effect their deliverance, but at first, in vain.

On May 8. A Dutch Sloop came by *Saybrook* Fort, having on Board an Indian Captive, who said she was *Momonottocks* Squaw. The English there desired the Dutch-men to let them have the Squaw in order to redeeming the English Captives, offering to give them to the value of two hundred pound, provided that those Captives might be set at liberty. The Dutchmen hoping to gain much by such an Indian were some of them loth to part with her. In Conclusion Capt. *Underhill* (who then commanded the Fort) having obtained the Consent of the Master of the Vessel, did *Vi & Armis* take the Squaw out of the Sloop. Afterwards when the *Mohicans* came to *Saybrook* that Squaw appeared to be one belonging to them, whom the *Pequots* had Captivated, and she made the Dutch believe she was *Momonottocks* Squaw, hoping that thereby she should obtain the more courteous usage amongst those into whose hands she was fallen, so that the contest between the English and Dutch about her was needless. In the *Interim* the Dutch Governour sent another Sloop, with order to redeem the English Captives if possible; and those Dutch did in Conclusion wilily accomplish their design. For being arrived in the *Pequot* Country, certain Indians coming aboard to trade with them after they had been trafficking they were clapt under Hatches, and told they should not be set at liberty, except they would deliver the English maids that were Captivated, and presently hoisted Sayle, as if they would be gone. The *Pequots* on shore called to them, declaring that if they would come to an Anchor, the English Captives should be brought to them, which was done, and the men whom the Dutchmen had secured in their Sloop given in Exchange for the English Captives, who were also brought safe to *Saybrook*, May, 16. where our Souldiers waited for a wind to carry them to engage with
the

the *Pequots*, and that Wind which for a few dayes kept the English from going upon their expedition, brought that Dutch Sloop to redeem those Captives, concerning whom there was no other hope (and that was a trouble to some) but that the English would be necessitated to destroy them amongst the Indians, in the day when their Fort should be attacked.

Some have thought that in these Narratives, there is not due notice taken of what was done by the *Massachusetts* Forces. The Truth is, the Conquest obtained over the *Pequots* was wonderfully the Lords doing, nor may we ascribe much to man therein, yet must it be acknowledged (and the Narratives deny it not) that Capt. Underhil (and those under his Command) who was sent from the *Massachusetts* did acquit himself worthily, when the Indians at *Misick* Fort were cut off. It must also be owned that the *Massachusetts* Souldiers did glean the *Pequots* after that, (and we know who to pacify those that were unreasonably dissatisfied, was ready to say, *Is not the gleanings of Ephraim better than the Vintage of Abiezer*;) Likewise they had an equal hand with others in the Service done at the Swamp, where such a multitude of Indians were either slain or taken as Captives.

And besides these things insisted on, there are who have taken notice of some other specialties of Divine providence, relating to those Commotions which have been of momentous consideration, to the people inhabiting this wilderness, which it may not be amiss here to remark. It is then worthy our observation, that the guilty bloody *Pequots* after they had treacherously murdered Capt. Stone and his Company, brought presents of *Wampam* and *Bever* to the English at *Boston*, desiring their Friendship, pleading that Stone had (who was like enough to do it) offered some abuse to them, in surprizing divers Indians, and binding them, and forcing them to shew him the way up the River, &c. — wherefore a peace was concluded upon condition they would suffer the English who desired to inhabit *Connecticut*, there quietly to live, and also deliver up those men who had been guilty of Stones death. These things were not performed by the *Pequots*. The Reason why they were the more willing to have peace with the English was, in that they were fallen out with the Dutch at *Monhatus*, as also with the *Narrhagansets* who were then potent and numerous; and at first they thought scorn to make Overtures of peace to them, proudly designing the subjugation of all their neighbour Indians, which wrought well for the English. Howbeit not unlike him that said, — *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*. When they saw they could not attain

their Ends with the English, except they would let Justice have a free passage, and having Contracted fresh bleeding guilt upon themselves, by new and outrageous murders, and cruelties, they earnestly solicited the *Narragansets* to joyn with them in their wicked Confederacy against the English, *Satan* suggesting to them such Arguments as did almost prevail. For they told the *Narragansets* that if they joyned with the English, they did but make way for their own Ruine, since after the *Pequots* were conquered, they would find an occasion to fall upon the *Narragansets*, and that they should not need to come to open battel with the English, only fire their Houses, and kill their Cattel, and lye in ambush to shoot them as they went about their occasions, so would they quickly be forced to leave this Country, and the Indians in the mean while not exposed to any great hazard. Had the *Narragansets* been overcome by these Arguments, it would have occasioned far greater Trouble and hazard to all the English Colonies, newly settled in this Land; But therefore God in mercy to his people prevented it. Commissioners were then sent from *Boston* into the *Narragansett* Country, to endeavour that those Indians might be kept from Compliance with the enemy. There is one who having a little enquired into these things, doth Relate that the old *Kanonikus* did dissuade the *Pequots* from war, advising rather to deliver up the murderers. They made believe as if they would do so, and when a Band of Souldiers was sent into the *Pequot* Country for that end, they bid them stay a while, and the murderers should be brought to them, and certain Indians conversing with our Souldiers, did very much observe the Armor which was upon them and would point where they should hit them with their Arrows, notwithstanding. In fine, when a great Body of Indians appeared on an Hill not far off, those that were with the Souldiers went over to them, when they all came together, they gave a scornful shout, and so ran all away, making their boast to others, how they had deluded the English; So that *Canonikus* his advise to the *Pequots* took no effect. After which the *Narragansets* were not only prevailed with to decline joyning with the enemy, but (as is intimated in the above written Narrative) they pretended they would fight for the English; albeit when it came to in good earnest, they proved themselves Cowards, doing little against the enemies, except by unmanly insultations when they saw them in misery: For whereas it was customary with the *Pequots*, when they had overcome their enemies insultingly to triumph saying, *O brave Pequots!* The *Narragansets* seeing them wounded or consuming to death in their burning wigwams, would taunt

at them and vaunt over them, saying, *O brave Pequots! O brave Pequots!* The more of a divine hand is there to be taken notice of in overcoming the *Pequots* by a small number of English and Indians. Also the *Pequots* were more furnished with Armes then before times they had been; since the *Dutchmen* had sold some Guns to them; and besides their bowes and arrows they had an abundance of small hatchets, and *Mohawgs*-hammers made of stone, yet God would not suffer them to find their hands.

What special acts of valour were manifested by any of our *Commanders* or souldiers in this expedition, beyond what is expressed in the forementioned *Narrative*, I am not able to *Relate*. Nor am I (though willing that mens vertues should be duely acknowledged) disposed to say much on those accounts, respecting such as are yet alive: as knowing that however it may please some by nourishing a proud humour, it would be nauseous to others, and deemed adulatory by wise and impartial Readers.

Only I remember Capt. *Davenport* (that good man, who was afterwards Commander of the Castle at *Boston*, and there slain by lightning) once told me, that himself, with two or three more, engaged with no lesse then thirty Indians, and that there were seventeen arrows shot into his Coat, but having on a Coat of Male, none of those arrows hurt him, only one that happened to strike where he was not defended by his Coat.

Also he rescued a poor souldier, that was in extreame danger of being devoured by those Wolves; For two Massive-Indians that lay in ambush, as a party of souldiers passed by, supposing they had been all past, snatched hold of him whom they thought to be the last man, and were running away with him upon their shoulders, Capt. *Davenport* followed them with his drawn Cutlath, but still as he lifted up his hand to strike at them these *Gigantine Salvages* held up the poor man they were running away with, whereby for a while they secured their own bodies from the blow, until at last missing the Englishman, Capt. *Davenport* smote one of the Indians, whereupon they threw down their prey, and ran for their lives.

He that giveth account of this last passage, doth also *Relate* another particular no lesse pleasant, namely, that whereas the *Pequots* observed, that the English, being willing to shew as much mercy as would stand with justice, did only captivate and not kill the *Squaws*, some great Indian Boyes would cry, *I Squaw, I Squaw*, thereby thinking to escape with their lives.

But to be serious. That which Governour *Winthrop* writeth in his Letter, published by Mr. *Morton*, is very memorable, viz. that in one fight, though the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their Arrows thick upon them, so as to pierce their hat brims, and their Sleeves, and Stockings, and other parts of their Cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as that (excepting three that rashly ventured into a Swamp after them) not one of them was wounded. And truly to set aside carnal Considerations, there are two Reasons obvious, that may be assigned as causes of that glorious and speedy success, which God gave to the English against the *Pegnot* Indians.

1. The blasphemy of those Enemies. For some of them said, that English mans God was one Flye, which execrable blasphemy the blessed God would not bear from those his Enemies. Also when some English were cruelly tortured to death by them, they would in a way of derision bid them call upon God now, and blasphemously mock at them when they did so. Therefore did the Lord bring those bloody blasphemers in a moment down to Hell, yea, and damned them above ground, when they lay lying in the Fire that was kindled upon their houses, and making horrible Outcries.

2. There was a mighty Spirit of Prayer and Faith then stirring, both in those that staid at home, and in some that ventured their lives in the high places of the Field. That Reverend man of God Mr. *Wilson* (who excelled in those graces of Faith and Love) went forth with the Soldiers that were sent from this Colony. I think I have my self heard him say, (or if I have not, others have) that he was before he went out, as certain that God would give the English the Victory over those Enemies, as if he had seen the Victory already obtained. Such great Faith did the Lord stir up in the Heart of that Holy man, and of other his Servants, and by Faith did they turn to fight the Armies of the Aliens. So then, these Enemies being subdued, in such wayes and by such means as hath been expressed, the Terror of God fell upon all the Heathen round about, and the English were dreadful to them: when they heard that the English had slain, and taken Captive seven hundred Indians, and killed Thirteen *Sachims*, (who are their Kings) there was no more Spirit left in them. The *Pegnots* best friends were afraid to receive such as fled to them for Refuge. But happy was he counted that could make friendship with the English, so that two of the *Sachims* in *Long-Island* came to that worthy Gentleman Captain (afterwards Lieut. Colonel) *Saunders*, entreating that they might be under our protection. Also two of the *Napant* *Sachims*, addressed themselves to Governour *Winthrop*

throp, seeking to be in favour with the English. These things deserve to be mentioned amongst the *Magnalia Dei*, which he hath wrought for his *New-England-People*.

Matters being again reduced to this peaceable state, that Land rested from war, and that for the space of almost forty years together. Howbeit Jealousies amongst the English grounded upon Treacheries and Conspiracies amongst the Indians, (and some particular acts of Hostility and Outrages by them committed) there have been more than once or twice, since the *Pequot Troubles*, were ended.

For in Anno 1638. the publick peace was endangered by occasion of a murder committed by an English man upon an Indian. Thus it was. One *Arthur Peach* a young Desperado, who had been a Souldier in the *Pequot* war, and done notable Service, being bold and forward in any desperate Attempt after he was returned home he was loth to go to work, wherefore he resolved to go to the Dutch Plantation, and enticed three persons, that were other mens servants, to run away with him. As they were travailing through the woods, they met a *Narraganset Indian*, and desired him to take a pipe of Tobacco; which the Indian was willing to do, *Peach* told his *Comrades*, he would kill him; they were afraid to do that, but let him alone to do as he would. When he saw his Time, He ran the Indian through with his Rapier, and took away his *Wampam* from him, supposing he had left him dead, but after they were gone, the Indian made a shift to get home, where he dyed of his wound within few dayes; But told other Indians that such and such English-men had mortally wounded him; The *Sachims* therefore presently found out these men (only one of them escaped) who had done the murder, and carried them away to the English, at *Aquidnet* Island, where they were examined and committed. In the mean time the *Narragansets* were about to rise in Arms, some of them conceiving that they should find the *Pequots* words true, that the English would fall upon them, now the other were vanquished. To be short, the murder being confessed by the parties guilty, the Court in *Plymouth* did by advice from Magistrates and elders in the *Bay*, condemn and see execution done upon those three *English men* for murdering that one Indian, whereupon the other Indians magnified the Justice which they saw amongst the *English*, and peace was continued. Yet after this new fears and troubles did arise upon other accounts. For although the *Narragansets*, and the *Mobegans* did Anno 1638. come under solemn promise that they would not engage in a war, either amongst themselves or with other Indians, until they had advised with, and obtained appro-

bation from the English; Nevertheless *Miantonimo*, the chief *Narraganset Sachem*, was continually picking quarrels with the *Moheags*, designing to make them become his Vassals. Some (viz. Mr. Gorges and Mr. Johnson) have related that *Miantonimo* was set on by certain *Waggon* English, known by the Name of *Gortonians*; who being deep Apostates from, and bitter enemies unto the wayes of Christ, professed by our Fathers, might easily be induced to animate motions of that nature. However *Miantonimo* chose rather to accomplish his ends upon the *Moheags* by Treachery, than by open war; and hired a *Peguat* Indian who was subjected to *Uncas* (the *Moheags Sachem*) to assassinate him that was become his Lord, which the Indian attempted accordingly; inasmuch as on a certain evening as *Uncas* was passing from one *Wigwam* to another, he was shot into the arm by an arrow, but recovered the house he intended, without receiving further hurt.

The Indian who was suspected about this matter, being called to an account about a great sum of *Wampam-peag*, by him possessed, could not give any tolerable account, how he came by his money, which augmented jealousies of his being hired by *Miantonimo* to kill *Uncas*. *Uncas* then made his complaint to the English; the issue was, that *Miantonimo* and the suspected Indian came to *Boston*, where he was examined, at first in the presence of *Miantonimo*, by whose help he had framed an *Artificial Lye*, saying, that one night as he came out of a thick *Swamp*, *Uncas* desired him to say that he was hired by *Miantonimo* to kill *Uncas*, and that therefore he cut his arm with the flint of his Gun, that men might think he had been shot with an arrow. This pitiful story made the English suspect *Miantonimo* more vehemently then ever, and upon a further private examination (much against *Miantonimo's* mind) they saw cause to believe that he was secretly designing mischief against the English, as well as against *Uncas*. Nevertheless, it was thought best to dismiss him for the present, only with an engagement to remit the suspected *Peguat* to his Master *Uncas*: He contrary to his promise, as he was returning home cut off the poor *Peguat's* head, whereby he was made incapable of discovering any thing further about matters between *Miantonimo*, and him.

Being come home, he forthwith resolveth to be revenged upon *Uncas*, and with a thousand *Narragansets* gave him battel, but the *Moheags*, (though not half their number) worsted the *Narragansets*, and took *Miantonimo*, their chief Sachem, prisoner, and brought him to the Town of *Hartford*, desiring advise from the English concerning the disposal of him. The Commissioners of the united Colo-

nyes, considering that the Indians had blood by raising an unjust
war against the English, and that it was their duty to protect
protection, and that he had on that account the English, and was not
belonged among the Indians, nor committed to the English, and he
were dispatched together with some other persons more fully expressed
in the Declaration published by the Council, Anno 1647. They
counselled *Uncas* to put him to death, without prohibiting him to use
any Crueltyes in the manner of his execution, it being customary with
barbarous Indians (who like their Father the Devil are delighted in
Crueltyes) to put their enemies to the greatest Tortures they can de-
vise, when they kill them. The advice was followed. *Uncas* led away
Miantonihio as if he would carry him to another place, for custody and
safety, and by the way very fairly cut off his head, as he not a year be-
fore had saved one of *Uncas* his men. These things hapned Anno 1649.

In the next year the peace of two of these Colonies, viz. those of
Connecticut and *New-Haven* was disturbed by the Indians. 31 1650

For, first, an English man running away from his Master, out of the
Massachusetts was murdered in the woods near *Connecticut* by an Indian;
& about six weeks after was discovered by another Indian, a Sagamore in
those parts promised to deliver the murderer bound to the English; and
having brought him to *Uncas* a Connecticut Sachim, he was there
unbound it seems by their joynt consent, & left to shift for himself, where-
upon ten English men, who were forthwith sent by Mr. *Ludlow* to the
place, seeing the murderer was elaped, laid hold on eight Indians there
present, amongst whom there was a Sagamore or two, and kept them in
hold two dayes, until four Sagamores ingaged themselves within one
Month to deliver the Malefactor unto Justice. About a week after
which agreement an Indian came presumptuously, and in the day time
murderously assaulted an English woman, in an house in *Stamford*, and
by three wounds (supposed mortal) left her for dead, and robbed the
house. The Indians generally in those parts demeaned themselves af-
ter an hostile manner, refused to come to the English, or to attend Tre-
aties of peace, departed from their *Plantations*, left their Corn unweeded,
and those of Guns near some English Plantations in a Tumultuary way,
and some Indians informed that there was a purpose to fall upon the
English, so that there was watching and warding day and night. *New-
Haven* and *Hartford* were sent unto, that relief might be afforded to the
weaker Towns, and application was made to the other Colonies for
Assistance. At last the Indians were persuaded to deliver the murder-
er unto Justice. So that the peace was restored, and the Indians
showed

Never

Nevertheless, in this year (*viz.* in Anno 1644.) the Rage of the *Narragansets* against the *Mohawks* did break out again in greater violence than ever before, inasmuch that *Uncas* was forced to betake himself to a Fort, and was there surrounded with multitudes of those Indians. The English thought it their concern, not to suffer him, to be swallowed up by those Adversaries, since he had (though for his own ends) approved himself faithful to the English from time to time. The *Narragansets* perceiving that the English did (as they had Reason to) favour *Uncas*, began to be high and insolent in their expressions & actions, threatening to destroy the English (only as to the English at *Providence* and *Rhode-Island* the *Narraganset* *Sachims* concluded a neutrality, as well as the *Mohawks*.

Before these things, there being four Colonies of English Inhabitants settled in this Country, *viz.* *Massachusetts*, *Plymouth*, *Connecticut* and *New-Haver*, (which is since become a part of *Connecticut* Colony) who were sensible of the common danger they were exposed unto, by reason of Indians throughout this Land, as also in that *Dutch* and *Swedes*, and *French* had seated themselves not far off, who might some of them probably prove evil Neighbours, and withal considering that, as he in the famous Poet expresseth.

Συλ γερτὸ δ' ορίτῃ π' ἀν' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ἀνυρῶν
Νοῦ δ' ἔχει καὶ ἄλ' ἄλ' ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' ἰσχυρὰ καὶ χροῖαι.

Via unita fortior, - if they were all confederate it would tend to the safety of the whole: Articles of confederation were agreed upon, whence these were called the *United Colonies*: And now was there an opportunity for them to act as became such; wherefore each of the Colonies did proportionably first send out Souldiers to keep Garrison with *Uncas*, and after that raised an Army in order to war with the *Narragansets*.

When a war was with good advice concluded on, forty men were immediately sent out of the *Massachusetts* to relieve *Uncas*, who upon the departure of *Connecticut* Souldiers (their time appointed them to keep Garrison with *Uncas* being expired) was presently set upon by the *Narragansets*; but further attempts upon him were prevented, by the coming of these from the *Massachusetts*. Also before the other Colonies could expedite what concerned the whole design, Forces were sent out of *Plymouth*, under the command of Capt. *Scandiff*, and marched as far as *Rehoboth*, that being near the borders of the enemy.

That worthy Commander, Major *Edward Gibbons*, was appointed as General, *Mr. Thompson* Pastor of the Church in *Brainster*, being in diverse

diverse respects eminently fitted for such a Service, was to sound the silver Trumpet along with this Army. They did solemnly take their leave of their friends and were solemnly commended to the Blessing of the God of Armies: But as they were just marching out of *Boston*, (their baggage being sent before towards the enemies quarters) many of the principal *Narraganset* Indians, viz *Pessicum*, *Mexano*, & *Wisawash* Sagamores, and *Awasquin* deputy for the *Nianticks*, these with a large Train came to *Boston*, suing for peace, being willing to submit to what Terms the English should see cause to impose upon them.

It was demanded of them that they should defray the charges that they had put the English to, and that the *Sachims* should send their sons to be kept as Hostages in the hands of the English until such time as the money should be payed. All this did the *Narragansets* yield unto,

Mel in ore, verbalactis, Fel in corde fraud in factis.

Notwithstanding the *Narragansets* have dissembled friendship with the English, yet venome hath been in their hearts ever since these notions: Nor was there any other then *Fides Graca* observed by them, in the performance of their engagements.

In the first place they endeavoured to play *Leger de main* in their sending Hostages. For instead of *Sachems* Children, they thought to send some other, and to make the English believe that those base *papoofer*, were of a royal progeny, but they had those to deal with, who were too wise to be so cluded. After the expected Hostages, were in the hands of the English, the *Narragansets* notwithstanding that, were slow in the performance of what they stood engaged for. And when upon a partial discharge of the debt, their Hostages were restored to them, they become more backward than formerly, until they were by hostile preparations again and again terrified into better obedience. At last Major *Atherton*, (then Capt. *Atherton*) of *Dorchester* was sent with a small party of English Souldiers to demand what was due. He at first entered into the *wigwam*, where old *Ninnigwet* (the *Nyantick* Sachim) resided, with only two or three Souldiers, appointing the rest by degrees to follow him, two or three dropping in at once, when his small Company were come about him: that Indians in the mean time supposing that there had been many more behind, he caught the Sachim by the hair of his head, and set a pistol to his breast, protesting who ever escaped, he should surely dy, if he did not forthwith comply with what was required. Hereupon a great trembling and Consternation surprized the Indians, albeit multitudes of them were then present, with spiked arrows at their Bow strings ready to let fly. The event was, the Indians

dians submitted, and not one drop of blood was shed. Nor was there (so far as I am informed) after this any open discovery of enmity in the *Narragansets* against the English until such time as *Philip* began his his great Rebellion. Yet it is evident that there hath been treachery, and secret Treason against the English, amongst them.

Astutum cupido servavit sub pectore Vulcanum.

I have been told that a man of God (viz. Mr. *Street*, who formerly lived not far from those parts) observing the perfidiousness of those *Narragansets*, and their enmity against the Gospel, publicly declared that he foresaw the destruction of the *Narraganset* Nation, solemnly confirming his speech in saying, *If God do not destroy that people, then say that his spirit hath not spoken by me.*

Surely that holy man was a Prophet, Μάρτυς γὰρ ὅτι καὶ προέφη. *Qui bene conjiciet, hunc Vatem.* And this is a Summary account of what hath in former years hapned between us and the *Narragansets*.

Considering, that the *Narraganset* Troubles have been of no small concernment, it would be worth the while a little more fully to relate the Truth about those motions. Only it is already done in good part by that Declaration which was published by the Commissioners of these united Colonies, Anno. 1645. (together with the Articles then consented unto, and subscribed by the *Narraganset* Sachims) Whoso pleaseth to consult those things will receive satisfaction concerning the War which was at that time fully intended, but not actually prosecuted by reason of the Indians Compliance as hath been specified.

In Anno. 1646. They failed in the performance of their Covenant, above expressed, as to every particular therein contained.

It is also evident that they had by presents of *Wampam* been practising with the *Mohawks*, and other Indians to engage them against *Uncas*, to whom they knew the English had promised protection. So that the English according to the Rules of Righteousness, might have righted themselves by the justice of War, yet being desirous rather to manifest Long-suffering towards these Barbarians, the Commissioners of the united Colonies contented themselves with sending a Declaration to the *Narraganset* and *Niantick* Indians, signifying that they should no longer delay the performance of what they had bound themselves unto, as ever they would not be look'd upon as a treacherous and perfidious people, no more to be treated with.

This Year also there was Trouble and fears raised in the Country, by reason of the *River-Indians*, at *Waranoke*, & *Normontack*, who it seems were secretly contriving the Death of those famous Worthies,
Mr.

Mr. *Hopkins*, Mr. *Hains*, Mr. *Whiting* Magistrates in *Conn. Licut* Colony. For I find upon publick *Record*, that complaints and informations about that matter (in September, 1646) were brought before the Commissioners then assembled at *New-haven*, where an Indian testified that *Sequasson* the *Sachim* of *Waranoke*, had given him a sum of money on condition that he would murder the Gentlemen mentioned.

Before the Commissioners convened, Mr. *Haines* had twice sent to *Sequasson*; but he neglected to make his appearance: Wherefore *Jonathan Gilbert* was sent to him again, to signify from the Commissioners that they expected *Sequasson's* appearance before them, and to answer what he was accused with. and they promised him free passage both to and from *Newhaven*, withall intimating that his withdrawing himself would greatly augment the suspicion of his guilt.

The Messenger quickly returned, bringing word, that he could not speak with *Sequasson*, who he supposed had received notice of his coming by other Indians, and was thereupon fled.

But a few days after, *Nipnisoit* and *Naimetayou* two *Sagamores*, came with some other Indians to *Newhaven*, declaring that they were friends to *Sequasson*, and pretended great respect to the English, and that they had brought *Sequasson* to clear himself, and that although one of them had him by one arm, another by the other, when he was come near the town, he brake from them and was escaped.

The Commissioners told them they intended *Sequasson* no hurt; but desired to bring him and his accusers face to face, that he should have a just bearing in their presence.

Some other Indians informed that *Sequasson* was within a mile of *Newhaven*, and it was conceived that he would gladly make his peace by some other means, rather than by a due examination and Trial. The two *Sagamores* said he was much afraid, and durst not come, though they confessed it was just he should come and clear himself, if innocent; all which being considered, the Commissioners conceived that *Sequasson* whether guilty or afraid of the English, would still be plotting against them and so prove dangerous; wherefore they thought fit, and ordered that all just and prudent means should be used (his life being preserved) to bring him to a tryal, that the matter might be some way issued. In the mean time they thought good to examine *Watchiborow* a *Pocanuck* Indian, *Sequasson's* accuser, who waited to give in evidence against him. He being warned by *Thomas Stanton* the Interpreter, to speak nothing but truth affirmed, that being this last Spring at *Waranoke*, in a wigwam with *Sequasson*, and ready to depart, *Sequasson* perswaded him to

Ray three days, thence he drew him to the Falls above Mr. Pincheon; when they had been there four dayes, *Wotchiborow* would have been gone to *Mohag*, to see some friends; *Sequanasson* told him it was dangerous travelling that way, he would be killed, walked along with him to a Spring, and there told him, that if ever he would doe the said *Sequanasson* a kindness, now was a time, he was almost ruined, and the English at *Hartford*, the cause of it: He should therefore go to *Hartford* and kill Mr. *Hopkins*, Mr. *Hains*, and Mr. *Whiting* and he would give him a reward, and thereupon pluckt out of his bag three girdles of *wampam*, and gave them to him, with a piece of a girdle of *wampam* to play, and promised him much more. *Wotchiborow* said it was dangerous to kill an English *Sachim*, they would find out the murderer and pursue him to death; what could then *wampam* doe him good? *Sequanasson* said he had store of *wampam*, when the thing was done they would fly to the *Mohawks*, but in the way, when they came to the *Wampeag-Indians*, he should give it out that *Unca* had hired him for so much *wampam*, and that would set the English against *Unca*, & then he the said *Sequanasson* should rise again.

He further told this *Examinee*, that *Naymisayhu*, one of the fore-mentioned *Sagamores* that came on the behalf of *Sequanasson*, and his father, knew and approved of the said murder.

Wotchiborow further saith, that having taken the aforesaid *wampam*, he remembered that himself had formerly taken *Busbeag*, and brought him to the English, who for a murderous attempt at *Stamford* was put to death at *Newhaven*, that if he should kill any English *Sachim*, he should goe in fear of death all the dayes of his life, and that for bringing in *Busbeag*, he had a Gratuity from the English, and for the discovery of this plot he should have their favour, and he thought the favour of the English with security, would be better to him then *Sequanasson's wampam* with fear and danger; he therefore came first to *Tunkiss* and the next day to *Hartford*, and discovered *Sequanasson's* plot, &c.

He said further, that *Sequanasson* hearing of the discovery, spake to *Romanoke* an Indian, and he sent another Indian called *Sixpence* to this *Examinee*, desiring him to hide and conceal as much of the Plot as he could and not to lay all open, but he in anger had the said *Sixpence* hold his peace, he had discovered it, and would hide nothing.

Thus much doe I find upon Record, relating to *Sequanasson's* plot. What afterwards came of this business, or how it issued, I cannot say. There was also another trouble about the Indians this year.

For whilst the Commissioners were sitting at *Newhaven*, petitions were presented from *Edward Etmer* and some others, complaining that Indians had wilfully and maliciously burned some quantity of pitch, and Tarr of theirs, together with some bedding, and a Cart with its furniture, and tooles &c. in value above an hundred pounds. And particularly they complained of one *Wasemose*, a *Waranoke* Indian as guilty therein, as by sufficient evidence they thought they could prove; and that he hath since avoided all the English Plantations; and that he being sent for by a warrant from one of the Magistrates of *Conn. Dick*, fled; but being overtaken and seized by some of the English, he was rescued by the Indians, and the English by them jeered and abused, and particularly *Chickwallop Sachim* of *Norwootuck*: Whereupon *Jonathan Gilbert* and *John Griffin*, were sent to *Chickwallop* and *Manasanes*.

At their return, they informed that they could not meet either with *Chickwallop* or *Manasanes*, but the *Sagamores* and Indians at *Waranoke* carried it insolently towards the English, vaunting themselves in their Arms, bows and Arrows, hatchets and Swords, some with their Guns ready charged, before and in the presence of the English Messengers, they primed and cockt them ready to give fire, and told them, that if they should offer to carry away any men thence, the Indians were resolved to fight, yet the next morning the *Sachim* with some others offered the English Messengers eight Fathom of *Wampam* towards satisfaction, and promised to provide more. The Messengers not having anything to that purpose in their Commission, advised the *Sachim* to send to the Commissioners, but he refused. Hereupon, *Naymetayhu* one of the *Sagamores* of *Waranoke*, who, as before, came on *Sequassons* behalf, was questioned by the Commissioners about these proud Affronts to the English; At first he denied what was charged, and excused some part, but one of the English Messengers being present, and he hearing the rest should be sent for, he fell under most of the charge, professing that he intended no harm to the English, Thus concerning disturbance by the Indians in the yerr, 1646.

In Anno, 1647. New fears and troubles arose by reason of the *Narraganset* Indians, there being credible Informations that they were plotting, and by presents of *Wampam* engaging the Indians round about to combine with them against the English Colonies, insomuch that a meeting of the Commissioners was called before the ordinary time; Being therefore convened at *Boston*, July 26. A Messenger was sent to *Narraganset*, signifying to *Pescens* and other *Sachims* there, that the English Commissioners expected their appearance at *Boston*, and that if they did

did refuse or delay, they should no more be sent unto, without promising them safe conduct, in case they duly attended. The Messenger being returned informed, that *Peskon* excused his not meeting the Commissioners at *New-Haven* the last year, from his ignorance of the time, when he should attend, though that was falsely pretended by him. He also desired excuse for his not appearing at this time, because he said he was sick, and not able to come, (but the Messengers could not perceive that he was subject to any such sickness or disablement) Nevertheless, he had given full power to *Ninnigret* to act on his behalf. Moreover, he excused his not performing the Articles he had subscribed at *Boston*, two years before, by pretending that he was frightened into that Engagement, with the sight of the English Army; which was then ready to invade the *Narraganset* Country, and he thought they would follow him home, and there kill him if he did not promise to do as the English would have him.

August 3. *Ninnigret* with some *Niantick* Indians, and two of *Peskon*'s men came to *Boston*. At first he (though against his Conscience) made as if he were ignorant, and never been informed of the Covenants which the Indians had made to the English, and seemed to wonder that the English should ask such a Sum of *Wampam*, saying that he knew not that the Indians were in the Englishmens Debt. He was then put in mind, how that formerly satisfaction had been demanded of the Indians for the breach of Articles; and how the English Messengers had been ill intreated by them, and particularly by himself, who had used threatening and insolent language, saying to the Messengers, that he knew the Commissioners would endeavour to keep them from warring upon *Uncas*, but they were resolved they would do it for all that, and nothing but *Uncas* his head should satisfy them; and that if the English did not withdraw their Garrisons from the Defence of *Uncas*, they would heap up their Cattel as high as their *wigwams*, and that he was the man that had given out that an Englishman should not step out of doors to piss but they would kill him. *Ninnigret* not being able to deny these charges, and somewhat appalled thereat, began to comply with the reasonable demands of the English. A dayes time was allowed to him, for Consideration and advice with the rest of the Indian Deputyes that were then in *Boston*.

The next day he declared that he was resolved to give the English Colonies due Satisfaction in all things, and that he would forthwith send some of his men to gather up the *wampam* which was yet behind, hoping that, within ten dayes it might be obtained, and that himself would

would stay with the English as security, untill the money was paid. Accordingly, he dispatched his Messengers home for that end, who not many dayes after, came back to *Boston*, bringing with them two hundred fathom of *Wampam*, towards satisfaction of what they owed to the English. This falling very much short of what was expected, *Ninigret* pleaded that his personal absence from home was the cause of that defect, and therefore desired liberty to go home, withal adding, that if the whole were not paid by next spring, the English should take his head, and seize his Country. The Commissioners let him depart, and since he pretended so fair, did deliver to him the Children which were kept as *Hofages*, expecting from him, the more care to see engagements performed; and if they did find him real, that then former neglects should be charged upon *Pesicut*, and that they should expect his assistance, when it should be required, in recovering the whole remainder from *Pesicut*, all which things were cheerfully accepted by *Ninnigret*.

This year other *Troubles* hapned by some of *Uncas* his Indians, who committed several Outrages upon the English in the *Pequot* Country. Mr. *John Winthrop*, & some with him, complained that *Wowiquay* (*Uncas* his brother) with about forty *Mohags*, behaved themselves insolently hovering against the English Plantation in a suspicious manner, to the affrightment of the Inhabitants there; Also, although *Uncas* at first seemed gladly to entertain the English plantation at *Pequot*, yet his carriage since was such as if he designed by *Alarm* to disturb and break that plantation. In fine, *Uncas* was censured, and required to acknowledge his fault to the English plantation, (which he did) and pay an hundred Fathom of *Wampam* to make amends for wrongs sustained.

In September 1648. New complaints were brought before the Commissioners of the united Colonies, (then sitting at *Plymouth*) against the *Narraganset* Indians, *Henry Bull* of *Rhode-Island* petitioned for relief, informing that those Indians had beaten him, and other wayes been injurious to him. Also Messengers from the Town of *Warwick* came with complaints in behalf of the whole Town, alleading that their neighbour Indians did kill their Cattel, abuse their servants when they took them alone, & sometimes would make forcible entry into their houses, yea and strike the masters thereof, and steal, and purloine their goods at pleasure. At the same time, informations were brought before the Commissioners, that the *Narraganset* Indians, instead of paying the *Wampam*, that was due to the Colonies, had improved their *Wampam* to hire Indians to invade *Uncas*, and in case the English should defend

him, to fight with them also. Particularly, that *Ninnigret* had given out, that if the English did protect *Uncas*, he would quickly burn the houses at *Connecticut*. The *Narragansetts* were withdrawing their old men, women, and children into swamps, hiding their corn &c. The mercenary *Mohawks* were said to be about four hundred in number, all armed with guns, and three pound of powder for every man.

These Counsils were so far ripened and prepared for execution, as that *Thomas Stanton* and other messengers from *Connecticut*, going to the Indians to enquire into, and (if it might be) stop proceedings, found them met at *Pacomtuck* their Rendezvouze, who acknowledged that they had received *Wampam* from the *Narragansetts* to invade *Uncas*, and that they were met together to that purpose, expecting *Mohawks* and other Indians to make up their full numbers: But hearing that two *Mohawk* Sachims, were lately killed by the Eastern Indians, and that the English, who they thought were a just and warlike people, would defend *Uncas*, they did therefore stop their intended proceedings at this time.

But these things made it yet more evident, that the *Narragansetts* were a false and treacherous people, not to be trusted, nor worthy to be treated with.

Ann. 1649. *Newhaven* Colony was in apparent danger of being involved in trouble by reason of the Indians there: For at *Stamford* a man going forth to seek his cattel returned not home as was expected, nor could be found by the English that sought for him, but quickly after the Son of a *Sagamore* who lived near *Stamford*, came into the Town, and told the English that *John Whitmore* was murdered by an Indian called *Toquattos*, and to prove it, told them that *Toquattos* had some of his cloathes, and particularly his shirt made of Cotton-linnen. Hereupon the English and some Indians went into the woods to seek the murdered body for burial, but though they bestowed much time and labour, they could not find it. Diverse of the English at *Stamford* suspected the *Sagamores* son, to be either the Author or accessory to the Murder, but had not satisfying grounds to seize and charge him.

About two or three months after, *Uncas* coming to *Stamford*, calling the Indians thither, and enquiring after the murdered body, the fore-mentioned *Sagamores* Son, and another suspected Indian called *Kchoron* sell a prembing, and hereby confirmed the suspicion of the English, and wrought a suspicion in some of the *Mohegin* Indians, so that they said these two Indians were *Matchet*, meaning they were guilty. Notwithstanding the Indians thereabouts excused the *Sagamores* Son, and accu-

fed *Togwattos*, & intimated that if the Sagamores Son should upon suspicion be seized on by the English, the Indians would doe the like by some English, untill he should be set at liberty.

Likewise at *South-hampton* in *Long-Island*, the English were exposed to great difficulties and dangers by reason of a murder committed in that Town, so that they were necessitated to Arm themselves, and stand upon their own defence for many dayes, the Indians being gathered together in an hostile posture. This year also *Uncas* renewed his complaints against the *Narraganset* Indians, that notwithstanding all former engagements, they are still undermining his peace, and seeking his ruine, and in particular that to their late endeavour to bring the *Mohawks* upon him, when that failed, they sought by witchcraft to take away his life. A *Narraganset* Indian (called *Cuitaquin*) in an English Vessel in *Mobegin* River, ran a Sword into *Uncas* his breast, whereby he received to all appearance a mortal wound, which murderous act, the Assailant then confessed, he was for a considerable sum of *Wampam*, by the *Narraganset* and *Niantick* Sachims hired to attempt, *Ninnigret* when examined utterly denied his having an hand in that fact but affirmed that *Cuitaquin*, who accused himself, and the other Sachims, was drawn thereunto, by Torture from the *Mohags*,

About four years after this (*viz.* in Anno 1653.) there were great Troubles, and Commotions raised in the Spirits of men with reference to the Indians, it being generally believed that there was an horrid Conspiracy amongst the Indians throughout this Land to cut off all the English, and that they were animated thereto by the Dutch, there being at that time war between England and Holland. An Indian Squaw was sent by other Indians (that professed love and friendship) to one in *Wethir* field on *Connecticut*, informing that there was a Confederacy between the Dutch and Indians, to destroy the English Colonies, and that the day of Election of Magistrates in the several Jurisdictions was intended for execution, because then the Towns would be left naked and less able to defend themselves. This Squaw moreover desired the English to remember, how dear their slighting of her former information of the *Pequots* coming had cost them.

Also *Uncas* addressed himself to the Governour of *Connecticut* Colony declaring that *Ninnigret* had that winter been at *Manhates*, and that he had given the Dutch Governour a great present of *Wampam*, and received from him twenty Guns, with powder and shot answer-

able, and that during his stay in those parts he went over *Hudsons* River, gathered as many *Sachims* together as he could, made ample Declaration against the English, desiring their aid and assistance against them.

Yea moreover, there were no less then nine Indian *Sagamores*, who lived near *Manhatos*, did voluntarily without any notice or reward from the English, send their Messengers to *Stamford*, declaring and affirming (even after they were urged by the English to testifie nothing but the truth) that the Dutch had solicited them by promising them Gunns, Swords, Powder, Wampam, Waist-coats and Coats to cut off the English. The Messengers added that they would not lye, & were as the mouth of the nine *Sagamores*, who *All speak they no lye*, they would affirm it to the Dutch Governours face, and if the Dutch were angry, and should fight with them, *No force &c.* The next day, one of those *Sagamores*, with the Son and Brother of another of them, came themselves to *Stamford*, and confirmed what their Messengers in their names had before reported.

This Spring also, the Indians in the *Northern & Eastern* parts generally grew insolent, and their carriage very suspicious, and they gave out threatening words, so that many Alarms were made, the peace of the English through the whole Country disturbed, they wearied with extraordinary Watchings and Wardings, hindred in their Plowing, Sowing preparations for Planting and other Occasions, to their exceeding great Damage. These things caused many sad thoughts of hearts, and some warlike Preparations; but when the Parties accused were enquired of about these matters they would own nothing; as for *Ninigret* he pretended that his wintering amongst the Dutch was on the account of his health, and not at all out of design against the English. The rest of the *Narraganset Sachims* made themselves very ignorant of any Plot; the Dutch Governour likewise professed great abhorrencey of so vile a thing as that would be, to hire barbarous Indians to murder Christians; withall adding, that if the Colonies fell upon him on that account, the righteous Judge would be his Defence, and that,

— *Hic murus abienem esto*

Nil conscire sibi nullâ pallescere culpâ.

Also glad tidings of peace between the Nations at home arrived here so did these troubles vanish.

Albeit not many years after these things, the Indians in those parts made an horrible slaughter, not of English-men but of Dutch-men, who were treacherously massacred by them.

In the latter end of this year it was, that the *Manauket* or Long-Island Indians who were friends and Tributaries to the English, complained that *Ninnigret* and the *Nianticks* had assaulted them, killing and taking Captive diverse of them. They were so far hearkned unto, as that the Commissioners of the united Colonies did apprehend themselves called of God to wage Warr against *Ninnigret*, and such Indians as should adhere to him in his bloody proceedings, and accordingly did by vote conclude and determine the same, and that two hundred and fifty Souldiers should be forthwith raised, and sent forth by the severall Colonies. But the Council at *Boston* not concurring in those Conclusions, the intended expedition failed at that time. Nevertheless the next year, it being known that *Ninnigret* persisted in his Warring upon the Long Islanders, and that he brake his Covenant, refusing to pay tribute for those *Pequots* that were by the English formerly placed under him, and that the lenity of the Colonies was abused to heighten his pride and insolency; upon these Considerations it was agreed by the Commissioners that there should be two hundred and seventy Foot Souldiers, and forty Horse, raised out of the severall Colonies, in order to reducing *Ninnigret* to subjection and better obedience. Accordingly Forces were forthwith levied, and a small Army sent forth under the Christian and courageous Major *Willard* as Commander in chief.

Upon the approach of the English Army *Ninnigret* fled from the place of his usual Residence, and got into a Swamp, where it was not easie to pursue him. Most of the *Pequots* under his Jurisdiction then deserted him, and came to the English. Messengers were sent to demand a Treaty with him, but he was afraid to appear.

In fine, two Gentlemen, viz. Capt. *Davis* and Capt. *Siely* went to him requiring the delivery of the rest of the *Pequots*; to whom he replied that they were gone on hunting, but ingaged that within seven dayes they should be delivered to Mr. *Winthrop*. He was moreover charged to forbear all acts of Hostility against the Long-Islanders, or any other Indians that were in amity with the English; and plainly told, that if he did not hearken to the advice and charge laid upon him, he must expect that ere long his head would be set upon an English pole.

So did the Messengers return and the Army also. These things happened in October Anno 1654.

After the English forces were withdrawn, *Ninnigret* did according to his usual manner, observe *Fidem puricam* in keeping the promises which at that time he had made and set his hand unto.

Not many years after this the Indians in the Southern and Western parts of this Land were involved in broyles amongst themselves, raging with implacable feuds and wars one against another. The *Niantick*, *Manantanket*, *Mohegins*, *Norwootuck*, all engaged in cruel and bloody quarrels. And the peace of these Colonies was not a little disturbed and endangered thereby, inasmuch as the Indians would pursue one another to the English plantations, and sometimes into the English houses, and there kill one another. Some English at *Wethersfield*, and some inhabiting in the *Moheag* Country were by means hereof put into sad frights. In special, in Anno 1658, sundry English in divers places were disquieted by the insolence and outrage of the *Pacumpick* Indians. But when the *Sachims* were called to an account about it, they pretended that they were ignorant of what disorders were committed by their men, nor allowed of by them who desired to live in amity with the English, and were willing to give satisfaction for past injuries, and to prevent the like abuses for the Future. So did those Troubles pass over. Not very long before this, at *South-Hampton* in *Long Island* some houses had been burned by a wicked Indian (and a Negro woman) who it seems after he had done this wickedness, desperately killed himself, to prevent just execution. It was at first thought that more of the Indians there had had an hand in that burning, whence they were condemned to pay seven hundred pound in seven years, but afterwards that penalty was taken off, since it was judged unreasonable that those Indians who were not proved to act in, or consent to the mischief that was done, should be made to suffer as guilty.

In Anno 1662, *Plymouth* Colony was in some danger of being involved in Trouble by the *Wampanoag* Indians. After *Massasoit* was dead, his two sons, called *Wamsutta*, & *Metacomet*, came to the court at *Plymouth* pretending high respect for the English, and therefore desired English names might be imposed on them, whereupon the Court there named *Wamsutta* (the elder brother) *Alexander*, and *Metacomet* (the younger brother) *Philip*; this *Alexander* (*Philip*'s immediate predecessor) was not so faithful and friendly to the English as his Father had been. For some of *Boston* having been occasionally at *Narraganset*, wrote to *M^r. Prince* who was then Governour of *Plymouth*, that *Alexander* was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the *Narragansets* to ingage with him in his designed rebellion. Hereupon, *Capt. Willet* (who lived near to *Mount-Hope*, the place where *Alexander* did reside) was appointed to speak with him, and to desire him to attend the next Court in *Plymouth*, for their satisfaction, and his own vindic-

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vindication, he seemed to take the message in good part, professing that the *Narragansets*, who (he said) were his enemies, had put an abuse upon him, and he readily promised to attend at the next Court. But when the day for his appearance was come, instead of that, he at that very time went over to the *Narragansets* his pretended enemies, which compared with other Circumstances, caused the Gentlemen at *Plymouth* to suspect there was more of Truth in the Information given, than at first they were aware of. Wherefore the Governour and Magistrates there, ordered Major *Winslow* (who is since and at this day the Governour of that Colony) to take a party of men, and fetch down *Alexander*. The Major considering that *semper nocuit differre paratis*, he took but ten armed men with him from *Marblefield*, intending to have taken more at the Towns that lay nearer *Mount Hope*. But divine providence so ordered, as that when they were about the midway between *Plymouth* and *Bridgewater*, observing an hunting house, they rode up to it, and there did they find *Alexander* and many of his men well armed, but their Guns standing together without the house, the Major with his small party, possessed themselves of the Indians Arms, and beset the house; then did he go in amongst them, acquainting the *Sachim* with the reason of his coming in such a way, desiring *Alexander* with his Interpreter to walk out with him, who did so a little distance from the house, and then understood what Commission the Major had received concerning him. The proud *Sachim* fell into a raging passion at this surprise, saying that the Governour had no reason to credit Rumors, or to send for him in such a way. nor would he go to *Plymouth* but when he saw cause. It was replied to him, that his breach of word touching appearance at *Plymouth* Court, and instead thereof going at the same time to his pretended enemies, augmented jealousies concerning him. In fine, the Major told him, that his order was to bring him to *Plimouth*, and that (by the help of God) he would do it, or else he would dy on the place; Also declaring to him that if he would submit, he might expect respective usage, but if he once more denied to go, he should never stir from the ground whereon he stood, and with a Pistol at the *Sachim*'s breast, required that his next words should be a positive and clear Answer to what was demanded. Hereupon his Interpreter (a discreet Indian, brother to *John Sauaman*) being sensible of *Alexander*'s passionate disposition, entreated that he might speak a few words to the *Sachim*, before he gave his Answer. The prudent discourse of this Indian prevailed so far as that *Alexander* yielded to go, only requesting that he might go like a *Sachim*, with his men attending him, which (although there

there was some hazard in it, they being many, and the English but a few) was granted to him. The weather being hot, the Major offered him an horse to ride on, but his squaw and diverse Indian women being in company, he refused, saying he could go on foot as well as they, entreating only that there might be a complying with their pace, which was done, and resting several times by the way. *Alexander* and his Indians were refreshed by the English; no other discourse hapning while they were upon their march, but what was pleasant and amicable. The Major sent a man before, to entreat that as many of the Magistrates of that Colony as could; would meet at *Duxbury*; wherefore having there had some treaty with *Alexander*, not willing to commit him to prison, they entreated Major *Winslow* to receive him to his house, until the Governour (who then lived at *Eastham*) could come up. Accordingly he and his Train were courteously entertained by the Major. And albeit not so much as an angry word passed between them whilst at *Marshfield*, yet proud *Alexander* vexing and fretting in his spirit, that such a check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever. He was then nursed as a choice friend. Mr. *Fuller* (the Physitian) coming provisionally thither at that time, the Sachim and his men earnestly desired that he would administer to him, which he was unwilling to doe, but by their importunity was prevailed with to doe the best he could to help him, and therefore gave him a potion of working Physick, which the Indians thought did him good; but his distemper afterward prevailing, they entreated to dismiss him, in order to a return home, which upon engagement of appearance at the next Court was granted to him, soon after his being returned home, he dyed.

And this is the truth and substance of what concerns Transactions with *Alexander*, concerning which so many fabulous storyes have been spread abroad.

Alexander being dead, his Brother *Philip* (of late cursed memory) rose up in his stead, and he was no sooner stiled Sachim, but immediately in the year 1662. there were vehement suspitions of his bloudy treachery against the English: Yet he professed otherwise, and making his personal appearance at a Court holden at Plymouth, renewed that Covenant which his father and Brother had confirmed with the English there. This Covenant he perfidiously brake: For in Anno 1671. it was evident that he with other his Confederates had been conspiring against the Colony, under whose protection and Jurisdiction he had submitted himself. He then armed himself and acted like a Rebel that intended a speedy rising, yea he ordered (as some Indians have

have since confessed) that if the English did send messengers to Treat with him, if above four came in company together they should be shot down, and appointed some to ly in ambush for that end; and behaved himself after a surly and provoking manner towards messengers that desired Treaty with him, and refused to appear, and give answer for his Insolencies, his Covenant notwithstanding. Nevertheless, he at last conceded to meet the Governour and Magistrates of *Plymouth*, at *Taunton*; where sundry Commissioners of *Boston* were desired to be, and to hear the matters of difference between the English of *Plymouth*, and this *Philip* Sachim.-- This meeting was attended in *April*, 1671. when *Philip* confessed his breach of Covenant, and that he had groundlessly taken up Arms against them, whom he had alwayes found friendly to him; And surrendered some of his Arms, engaging for the delivery of the rest in due time. The English being tender of shedding blood, let him go upon promise of better behaviour for the future. Soon after this, *Philip* (with some of his Counsellors) repaired to *Boston*, endeavouring to possess the English there, with lying Informations, about Injuries done to him by those of *Plymouth*. Wherefore the Council of that Colony entreated that Commissioners from *Boston*, and from *Connecticut* also might be sent to *Plymouth*, that so a fair hearing of differences before all the world might be attended. So then in *September* following the Governour of *Connecticut*, and several Magistrates from the *Massachusetts*, and some other Gentlemen met at *Plymouth*, where *Philip* appeared, and all his allegations were heard to the Conviction of *Philip* himself, and great satisfaction of all that Audience. The conclusion was, *Philip* acknowledged his offence, and was appointed to give a sum of money to defray the charges which his Insolent Clamours had put that Colony unto. The particulars which *Philip* then consented to were these.

1. That he would for the future be subject to the Government of *Plymouth*, and to their Laws.

2. He engaged to pay the Colony an hundred pound towards reparation of such wrong as they had sustained by his misdemeanors.

3. He was under obligation to send five wolves heads every year to the Governour of *Plymouth* in Token of his fealty.

4. That he would not make war with any without the approbation of that Government.

5. In case any future difference should arise between him and the English, he would repair to the Government there to rectify matters, before engaging in any hostile attempts.

6. That

6. That he would not dispose of any of his Lands but with the approbation of the English government there- So was he dismissed. Some of these Covenants were in part observed by him, and some particulars not at all- Thus did things rest between the English and him, until the year 1674. when in *January* an Indian Preacher, known by the name of *John Sausaman*, addressed himself to the present Governour of *Plymouth*, informing him that the Indians were complotting the destruction of the English, and that not only the *Wompanoags*, but the *Narragansets*, yea and the *Mobegins* were involving themselves in this Conspiracy. This *Sausaman* was by birth a *Massachusetts*, his Father and Mother living in *Dorchester*, and they both died Christians: This their Son did for some time apostatize from his Christian profession, and lived like an Heathen, being Philips Secretary (for he could write a very legible hand) and one of his Counsellors, untill at last God convinced him of his misery, and he manifested such evident signs of repentance as that he was, after his return from pagan *Philip*, reconciled to the praying Indians and baptised, and received as a member in one of the Indian Churches, yea and employed as an Instructor amongst them every Lords Day. Nevertheless, his information (because it had an Indian original, and one can hardly believe them when they speak truth) was not at first much regarded, untill by relation of Circumstances, he made it too apparent, that *Philip* was really hatching mischief. The effect was, the Governour of *Plymouth* advising with his Councill, resolved once more to send for *Philip*, and to enquire into the truth of things: But before that could be accomplished, an Indian called *Tobias*, with his Son, and another Indian named *Mattabinnamy*, meeting with *John Sausaman* at a pond, cruelly murdered him; and that their villany might not be discovered, they cut an hole through the Ice, and put in the dead murdered Body, leaving his hat and Gun upon the Ice, that so others might think that he had drowned himself. It being rumor'd that *Sausaman* was lost, the dead body was sought after, and found in the pond, and taken up and buried.

Jealousies being on the spirits of men that the other Indians had murdered him, on the account of revealing their Conspiracies to the English: The Governour of *Plymouth* ordered the Constable of *Middlebury* (that being the nearest town to the Place where the murder was committed) to cause *John Sausamans* body to be taken up again, and to empanel a Jury as a *Coroners Inquest*, to make enquiry how he came by his death: And they found that he had been murdered, for his neck was broken by twisting of his head round; which is the way

way that the Indians some times use when they practice murders; also, his head was extreemly swollen, and his Body was wounded in several parts of it, and when it was first taken out of the pond, no water issued out of it, which argued that the Body was not drowned, but dead before it came into the water.

Moreover, when *Tobias* (the suspected Murtherer) came near the dead body, it fell a bleeding on fresh as if it had been newly slain. albeit it was buried a considerable time before that.

Afterward an Indian called *Patuckson*, came and testified to their faces that he saw *Tobias* and the other Indians murdering *Sausaman*: He also himself before his death had declared, that he was afraid those very Indians would at last prove his Murtherers.

They were therefore apprehended & kept in Durance untill Plymouth Court, which was held in June, 1675. and being found guilty of *Sausaman's* Death, they were (one of them before his execution confessing the murder) condemned and executed. And then did *Philip*, being (as was verily supposed) privy to what *Tobias* (his Counsellor) and those with him had perpetrated upon *John Sausaman*, fall to open Rebellion and bloodshedding amongst the English at *Swanzy*, who were his next Neighbours.

But of the special Occurrences attending the late (and not yet ended) War between the English and the Indians, I have elsewhere given a brief account, and therefore shall not here add any thing, that not comports with my present design.

The Particulars which have been mentioned, are the chief (if not the only) Troubles which have hapned by the Indians in *New-England*, from the first planting thereof by the English till the late Commotions. Some few private Murthers there have been, which are not insisted on in this *Narrative*, as namely those at *Nantucket*, and that by *Matoonas* his Son, and that at *Woburn*, but the publick peace was not so endangered by those clandestine Revenges, as by the Conspiracies, the *Relation* whereof hath been described.

It is easy to observe; from the *History* of these *Troubles*, that whereas there have been two sorts of men designing settlement in this part of *America*, some that came hither on the account of Trade, and worldly Interests, by whom the Indians have been scandalized, others that came hither on a Religious and conscientious account, having in their Eye, the Conversion of the *Heathen* unto Christ; the former have
been

been attended with blasting ruining providences, these latter have been signally owned by the Lord Jesus, for the like hath been rarely known in the world, that a plantation should be raised out of nothing, and brought to such considerableness in so short a time, whereas in the close of the last Century, there was not so much as one Christian in this Land, there are now above *Fourscore* English, and *Six* Indian Churches therein, besides many other Congregations calling upon the Name of the True God in Jesus Christ, although as yet not brought into Church estate, according to the order of the Gospel.

This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

F I N I S.
